00035270

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

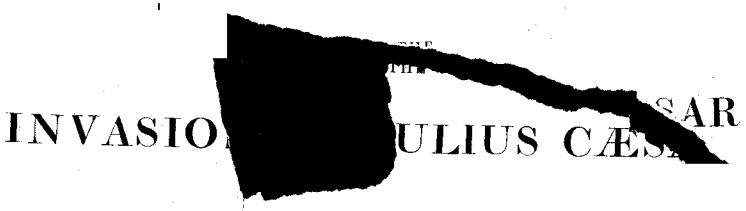
Digitized with financial assistance from
Observer Research Foundation
on 17 May, 2019

THE

HISTORY

OF

England,



INVASIO ULIUS CÆS AR

TO THE

REVOLUTION IN 1688,

35269
35270 ac

BY

David Hume.

LONDON.

PRINTED BY T. BENSLEY, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET,

FOR

ROBERT BOWYER, PALL-MALL.

1806.

00035270

CHAPTER XLI.

ELIZABETH.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND....SPANISH AFFAIRS....SIR FRANCIS DRAKE ....A PARLIAMENT....NEGOCIATIONS OF MARRIAGE WITH THE DUKE OF ANJOU....AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND....QUEEN MARY'S LETTER TO ELIZABETH....CONSPIRACIES IN ENGLAND....A PARLIAMENT....THE ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION....AFFAIRS OF THE LOW COUNTRIES....HOSTILITIES WITH SPAIN.

THE greateſt and moſt abſolute ſecurity that Elizabeth enjoyed, during her whole reign, never exempted her from vigilance and attention; but the ſcene began now to be more overcaſt, and dangers gradually multiplied on her from more than one quarter.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND. 1580.

THE earl of Morton had hitherto retained Scotland in ſtrict alliance with the queen, and had alſo reſtored domeſtic tranquillity to that kingdom: but it was not to be expected that the factitious and legal authority of a regent would long maintain itſelf in a country unacquainted with law and order, where even the natural dominion of hereditary princes ſo often met with oppoſition and control. The nobility began anew to break into

factions; the people were diſguſted with ſome inſtances of Morton's avarice; and the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenue, joined and increaſed the diſcontent of the other orders. The regent was ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation; and, having dropped ſome peeviſh expreſſions, as if he were willing or deſirous to reſign, the noblemen of the oppoſite party, favourites of the young king, laid hold of this conceſſion, and required that demiſſion which he ſeemed ſo frankly to offer them. James was at this time but eleven years of age; yet Morton, having ſecured himſelf, as he imagined, by a general pardon, reſigned his authority into the hands of the king, who pretended to conduct, in his own name, the adminiſtration of the kingdom. The regent retired from the government, and ſeemed to employ himſelf entirely in the care of his domeſtic affairs; but, either tired with this tranquillity, which appeared inſipid after the agitations of ambition, or thinking it time to throw off diſſimulation, he came again to court; acquired an aſcendant in the council; and, though he reſumed not the title of regent, governed with the ſame authority as before. The oppoſite party, after holding ſeparate conventions, took to arms, on pretence of delivering their prince from captivity, and reſtoring him to the free exerciſe of his government. Queen Elizabeth interpoſed by her ambaſſador, ſir Robert Bowes, and mediated an agreement between the factions: Morton kept poſſeſſion of the government; but his enemies were numerous and vigilant, and his authority ſeemed to become every day more precarious.

The count d'Aubigney, of the houſe of Lenox, couſin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young man of good addreſs and a ſweet diſpoſition, he appeared to the duke of Guiſe a proper inſtrument for detaching James from the Engliſh intereſt, and connecting him with

his mother and her relations. He no ſooner appeared at Stirling, where James reſided, than he acquired the affections of the young monarch; and, joining his intereſts with thoſe of James Stuart of the houſe of Ochiltree, a man of profligate manners, who had acquired the king's favour, he employed himſelf, under the appearance of play and amuſement, in inſtilling into the tender mind of the prince new ſentiments of politics and government. He repreſented to him the injuſtice which had been done to Mary in her depoſition, and made him entertain thoughts either of reſigning the crown into her hands, or of aſſociating her with him in the adminiſtration.[l] Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger which might enſue from the prevalence of this intereſt in Scotland, ſent anew ſir Robert Bowes to Stirling; and, accuſing d'Aubigney, now created earl of Lenox, of an attachment to the French, warned James againſt entertaining ſuch ſuſpicious and dangerous connexions.[m] The king excuſed himſelf, by ſir Alexander Hume his ambaſſador; and Lenox, finding that the queen had openly declared againſt him, was farther confirmed in his intention of overturning the Engliſh intereſt, and particularly of ruining Morton, who was regarded as the head of it. That nobleman was arreſted in council, accuſed as an accomplice in the late king's murder, committed to priſon, brought to trial, and condemned to ſuffer as a traitor. He confeſſed that Bothwel had communicated to him the deſign, had pleaded Mary's conſent, and had deſired his concurrence; but he denied that he himſelf had ever expreſſed any approbation of the crime; and, in excuſe for his concealing it, he alledged the danger of revealing the ſecret, either to Henry, who had no reſolution nor conſtancy, or to Mary, who appeared to be an accomplice in the murder.[n] Sir Thomas Randolph was ſent by the queen to intercede in favour of Morton; and that ambaſſador, not content with diſcharging this duty of his function, engaged, by his

perſuaſion, the earls of Argyle, Montroſe, Angus, Marre, and Glencarne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the priſoner. The more to overawe that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth ordered forces to be aſſembled on the borders of England; but this expedient ſerved only to haſten his ſentence and execution.[o] Morton died with that conſtancy and reſolution which had attended him through all the various events of his life; and left a reputation which was leſs diſputed with regard to abilities than probity and virtue. But this concluſion of the ſcene happened not till the ſubſequent year.

SPANISH AFFAIRS.

Elizabeth was, during this period, extremely anxious on account of every revolution in Scotland; both becauſe that country alone, not being ſeparated from England by ſea, and bordering on all the catholic and malcontent counties, afforded her enemies a ſafe and eaſy method of attacking her; and becauſe ſhe was ſenſible that Mary, thinking herſelf abandoned by the French monarch, had been engaged by the Guiſes to have recourſe to the powerful protection of Philip, who, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with the queen, was every day, both by the injuries which he committed and ſuffered, more exaſperated againſt her. That he might retaliate the aſſiſtance which ſhe gave to his rebels in the Low Countries, he had ſent, under the name of the pope,[p] a body of ſeven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always turbulent, and diſcontented with the Engliſh government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and were ready to join every invader. The Spaniſh general, San Joſepho, built a fort in Kerry; and, being there beſieged by the earl of Ormond, preſident of Munſter, who was ſoon after joined by lord Gray the deputy, he

made a weak and cowardly defence. After ſome aſſaults, feebly ſuſtained, he ſurrendered at diſcretion; and Gray, who commanded but a ſmall force, finding himſelf encumbered with ſo many priſoners, put all the Spaniards and Italians to the ſword without mercy, and hanged about fifteen hundred of the Iriſh: a cruelty which gave great diſpleaſure to Elizabeth.[q]

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

When the Engliſh ambaſſador made complaints of this invaſion, he was anſwered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold ſeaman, who had aſſaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themſelves moſt ſecure, in the new world. This man, ſprung from mean parents in the county of Devon, having acquired conſiderable riches by depredations made in the iſthmus of Panama, and having there gotten a ſight of the Pacific ocean, was ſo ſtimulated by ambition and avarice, that he ſcrupled not to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure through thoſe ſeas, ſo much unknown at that time to all the European nations.[r] By means of ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favourite of the queen's, he obtained her conſent and approbation; and he ſet ſail from Plymouth in 1577 with four ſhips and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and ſixty-four able ſailors.[s] He paſſed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and, attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in thoſe quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehenſive of being intercepted by the enemy, if he took the ſame way homewards by which he had reached the Pacific ocean, he attempted to find a paſſage by the north of California; and, failing in that enterpriſe, he ſet ſail for the Eaſt Indies, and returned ſafely this year by the Cape of

Good Hope. He was the firſt Engliſhman who ſailed round the globe, and the firſt commander in chief; for Magellan, whoſe ſhip executed the ſame adventure, died in his paſſage. His name became celebrated on account of ſo bold and fortunate an attempt: but many, apprehending the reſentment of the Spaniards, endeavoured to perſuade the queen that it would be more prudent to diſavow the enterpriſe, to puniſh Drake, and to reſtore the treaſure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, and was allured by the proſpect of ſharing in the booty, determined to countenance that gallant ſailor: ſhe conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ſhip which had achieved ſo memorable a voyage. When Philip's ambaſſador, Mendoza, exclaimed againſt Drake's piracies, ſhe told him that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole new world, and excluding thence all other European nations who ſhould ſail thither, even with a view of exerciſing the moſt lawful commerce, naturally tempted others to make a violent irruption into thoſe countries.' To pacify, however, the catholic monarch, ſhe cauſed part of the booty to be reſtored to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be agent for the merchants whom Drake had ſpoiled. Having learned afterwards that Philip had ſeized the money, and had employed part of it againſt herſelf in Ireland, part of it in the pay of the prince of Parma's troops, ſhe determined to make no more reſtitutions.

A PARLIAMENT. 1581.

THERE was another cauſe which induced the queen to take this reſolution: ſhe was in ſuch want of money that ſhe was obliged to aſſemble a parliament, a meaſure which, as ſhe herſelf openly declared, ſhe never embraced except when conſtrained by the

neceſſity of her affairs. The parliament, beſides granting her a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths, enacted ſome ſtatutes for the ſecurity of her government, chiefly againſt the attempts of the catholics. Whoever, in any way, reconciled any one to the church of Rome, or was himſelf reconciled, was declared to be guilty of treaſon; to ſay maſs was ſubjected to the penalty of a year's impriſonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the being preſent was puniſhable by a year's impriſonment and a fine of one hundred marks: a fine of twenty pounds a month was impoſed on every one who continued, during that time, abſent from church.[u] To utter ſlanderous or ſeditious words againſt the queen was puniſhable, for the firſt offence, with the pillory and loſs of ears; the ſecond offence was declared felony: the writing or printing of ſuch words was felony, even on the firſt offence.[w] The puritans prevailed ſo far as to have farther applications made for reformation in religion.[x] And Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that name who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the preceding ſeſſion, moved, that the commons, from their own authority, ſhould appoint a general faſt and prayers: a motion to which the houſe unwarily aſſented. For this preſumption they were ſeverely reprimanded by a meſſage from the queen, as encroaching on the royal prerogative and ſupremacy; and they were obliged to ſubmit, and aſk forgiveneſs.[y]

The queen and parliament were engaged to paſs theſe ſevere laws againſt the catholics by ſome late diſcoveries of the treaſonable practices of their prieſts. When the ancient worſhip was ſuppreſſed, and the reformation introduced into the univerſities, the king of Spain reflected that, as ſome ſpecies of literature was neceſſary for ſupporting theſe doctrines and controverſies, the Romiſh communion muſt decay in England if no means were found to give erudition to the eccleſiaſtics; and for this reaſon he founded a ſeminary at Douay, where the catholics ſent their

children, chiefly ſuch as were intended for the prieſthood, in order to receive the rudiments of their education. The cardinal of Lorraine imitated this example, by erecting a like ſeminary in his dioceſe of Rheims; and, though Rome was ſomewhat diſtant, the pope would not neglect to adorn, by a foundation of the ſame nature, that capital of orthodoxy. Theſe ſeminaries, founded with ſo hoſtile an intention, ſent over every year a colony of prieſts, who maintained the catholic ſuperſtition in its full height of bigotry; and, being educated with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infuſed into all their votaries an extreme hatred againſt the queen; whom they treated as an uſurper, a ſchiſmatic, a heretic, a perſecutor of the orthodox, and one ſolemnly and publicly anathematiſed by the holy father. Sedition, rebellion, ſometimes aſſaſſination, were the expedients by which they intended to effect their purpoſes againſt her; and the ſevere reſtraint, not to ſay perſecution, under which the catholics laboured, made them the more willingly receive, from their ghoſtly fathers, ſuch violent doctrines.

Theſe ſeminaries were all of them under the direction of the Jeſuits, a new order of regular prieſts erected in Europe, when the court of Rome perceived that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who ſufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, aſſailed on every ſide, and that the inquiſitive ſpirit of the age required a ſociety more active and more learned to oppoſe its dangerous progreſs. Theſe men, as they ſtood foremoſt in the conteſt againſt the proteſtants, drew on them the extreme animoſity of that whole ſect; and, by aſſuming a ſuperiority over the other more numerous and more ancient orders of their own communion, were even expoſed to the envy of their brethren: ſo that it is no wonder

if the blame, to which their principles and conduct might be expoſed, has, in many inſtances, been much exaggerated. This reproach, however, they muſt bear from poſterity, that, by the very nature of their inſtitution, they were engaged to pervert learning, the only effectual remedy againſt ſuperſtition, into a nouriſhment of that infirmity; and, as their erudition was chiefly of the eccleſiaſtical and ſcholaſtic kind (though a few members have cultivated polite literature), they were only the more enabled, by that acquiſition, to refine away the plaineſt dictates of morality, and to erect a regular ſyſtem of caſuiſtry, by which prevarication, perjury, and every crime, when it ſerved their ghoſtly purpoſes, might be juſtified and defended.

The jeſuits, as devoted ſervants to the court of Rome, exalted the prerogative of the ſovereign pontiff above all earthly power; and, by maintaining his authority of depoſing kings, ſet no bounds either to his ſpiritual or temporal juriſdiction. This doctrine became ſo prevalent among the zealous catholics in England, that the excommunication fulminated againſt Elizabeth excited many ſcruples of a ſingular kind, to which it behoved the holy father to provide a remedy. The bull of Pius, in abſolving the ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, commanded them to reſiſt the queen's uſurpation; and many Romaniſts were apprehenſive that, by this clauſe, they were obliged in conſcience, even though no favourable opportunity offered, to rebel againſt her, and that no dangers or difficulties could free them from this indiſpenſable duty. But Parſons and Campion, two jeſuits, were ſent over with a mitigation and explanation of the doctrine; and they taught their diſciples that, though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her partiſans, it did not oblige the catholics to obedience, except when the ſovereign pontiff ſhould think proper, by a new ſummons,[z] to require it. Campion was afterwards detected in treaſonable practices; and,

being put to the rack, and confeſſing his guilt, he was publicly executed. His execution was ordered at the very time when the duke of Anjou was in England, and proſecuted, with the greateſt appearance of ſucceſs, his marriage with the queen; and this ſeverity was probably intended to appeaſe her proteſtant ſubjects, and to ſatisfy them that, whatever meaſures ſhe might purſue, ſhe never would depart from the principles of the reformation.

MARRIAGE NEGOCIATIONS WITH THE DUKE OF ANJOU.

THE duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his pretenſions to Elizabeth; and that princeſs, though her ſuitor was near twenty-five years younger than herſelf, and had no knowledge of her perſon but by pictures or deſcriptions, was ſtill pleaſed with the image, which his addreſſes afforded her, of love and tenderneſs. The duke, in order to forward his ſuit, beſides employing his brother's ambaſſador, ſent over Simier, an agent of his own; an artful man, of an agreeable converſation, who, ſoon remarking the queen's humour, amuſed her with gay diſcourſe; and, inſtead of ſerious political reaſonings, which he found only awakened her ambition, and hurt his maſter's intereſts, he introduced every moment all the topics of paſſion and of gallantry. The pleaſure which ſhe found in this man's company ſoon produced a familiarity between them; and, amidſt the greateſt hurry of buſineſs, her moſt confidential miniſters had not ſuch ready acceſs to her as had Simier, who, on pretence of negociation, entertained her with accounts of the tender attachment born her by the duke of Anjou. The earl of Leiceſter, who had never before been alarmed with any courtſhip paid her, and who always truſted that her love of dominion would prevail over her inclination to marriage,

began to apprehend that ſhe was at laſt caught in her own ſnare, and that the artful encouragement which ſhe had given to this young ſuitor had unawares engaged her affections. To render Simier odious, he availed himſelf of the credulity of the times, and ſpread reports that that miniſter had gained an aſcendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her conſtitution, but by incantations and love potions. Simier, in revenge, endeavoured to diſcredit Leiceſter with the queen; and he revealed to her a ſecret, which none of her courtiers dared to diſcloſe, that this nobleman was ſecretly, without her conſent, married to the widow of the earl of Eſſex; an action which the queen interpreted either to proceed from want of reſpect to her, or as a violation of their mutual attachment; and which ſo provoked her, that ſhe threatened to ſend him to the tower.[a] The quarrel went ſo far between Leiceſter and the French agent, that the former was ſuſpected of having employed one Tudor, a bravo, to take away the life of his enemy; and the queen thought it neceſſary, by proclamation, to take Simier under her immediate protection. It happened that, while Elizabeth was rowed in her barge on the Thames, attended by Simier and ſome of her courtiers, a ſhot was fired which wounded one of the bargemen; but the queen, finding, upon inquiry, that the piece had been diſcharged by accident, gave the perſon his liberty, without farther puniſhment. So far was ſhe from entertaining any ſuſpicion againſt her people, that ſhe was often heard to ſay that ſhe would lend credit to nothing againſt them which parents would not believe of their own children.

The duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts ſent him of the queen's prepoſſeſſions in his favour, paid her ſecretly a viſit at Greenwich; and, after ſome conference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed. It appeared that, though his figure was not advantageous, he had loſt no ground by

being perſonally known to her; and ſoon after ſhe commanded Burleigh, now treaſurer, Suſſex, Leiceſter, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and ſecretary Walſingham, to concert with the French ambaſſadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. Henry had ſent over on this occaſion a ſplendid embaſſy, conſiſting of Francis de Bourbon, prince dauphin, and many conſiderable noblemen; and, as the queen had in a manner the power of preſcribing what terms ſhe pleaſed, the articles were ſoon ſettled with the Engliſh commiſſioners. It was agreed that the marriage ſhould be celebrated within ſix weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue ſhould have the exerciſe of their religion; that after the marriage he ſhould bear the title of King, but the adminiſtration remain ſolely in the queen; that their children, male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England; that, if there be two males, the elder, in caſe of Henry's death without iſſue, ſhould be king of France; the younger of England; that, if there be but one male, and he ſucceed to the crown of France, he ſhould be obliged to reſide in England eight months every two years; that the laws and cuſtoms of England ſhould be preſerved inviolate; and that no foreigner ſhould be promoted by the duke to any office in England.[b]

Theſe articles, providing for the ſecurity of England in caſe of its annexation to the crown of France, opened but a diſmal proſpect to the Engliſh, had not the age of Elizabeth, who was now in her forty-ninth year, contributed very much to allay their apprehenſions of this nature. The queen alſo, as a proof of her ſtill remaining uncertainty, added a clauſe, that ſhe was not bound to complete the marriage till farther articles, which were not ſpecified, ſhould be agreed on between the parties, and till the king of France be certified of this agreement. Soon after the queen ſent over Walſingham as ambaſſador to France,

in order to form cloſer connexions with Henry, and enter into a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the increaſing power and dangerous uſurpations of Spain. The French king, who had been extremely diſturbed with the unquiet ſpirit, the reſtleſs ambition, the enterpriſing, yet timid and inconſtant, diſpoſition of Anjou, had already ſought to free the kingdom from his intrigues by opening a ſcene for his activity in Flanders; and, having allowed him to embrace the protection of the States, had ſecretly ſupplied him with men and money for the undertaking. The proſpect of ſettling him in England was, for a like reaſon, very agreeable to that monarch; and he was deſirous to cultivate, by every expedient, the favourable ſentiments which Elizabeth ſeemed to entertain towards him. But this princeſs, though ſhe had gone farther in her amorous [c] dalliance than could be juſtified or accounted for by any principles of policy, was not yet determined to carry matters to a final concluſion; and ſhe confined Walſingham in his inſtructions to negociating conditions of a mutual alliance between France and England.[d] Henry with reluctance ſubmitted to hold conferences on that ſubject; but no ſooner had Walſingham begun to ſettle the terms of alliance than he was informed that the queen, foreſeeing hoſtility with Spain to be the reſult of this confederacy, had declared that ſhe would prefer the marriage with the war before the war without the marriage.[e] The French court, pleaſed with this change of reſolution, broke off the conferences concerning the league, and opened a negociation for the marriage.[f] But matters had not long proceeded in this train before the queen again declared for the league in preference to the marriage, and ordered Walſingham to renew the conferences for that purpoſe. Before he had leiſure to bring this point to maturity, he was interrupted by a new change of reſolution;[g] and not only the court of France, but Walſingham himſelf, Burleigh, and all the wiſeſt miniſters of

Elizabeth, were in amazement, doubtful where this conteſt between inclination and reaſon, love and ambition, would at laſt terminate.[h]

In the courſe of this affair Elizabeth felt another variety of intentions, from a new conteſt between her reaſon and her ruling paſſions. The duke of Anjou expected from her ſome money, by which he might be enabled to open the campaign in Flanders; and the queen herſelf, though her frugality made her long reluctant, was ſenſible that this ſupply was neceſſary; and ſhe was at laſt induced, after much heſitation, to comply with his requeſt.[i] She ſent him a preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns; by which, joined to his own demeſnes, and the aſſiſtance of his brother and the queen dowager, he levied an army, and took the field againſt the prince of Parma. He was ſucceſsful in raiſing the ſiege of Cambray; and, being choſen by the States governor of the Netherlands, he put his army into winter quarters, and came over to England in order to proſecute his ſuit to the queen. The reception which he met with made him expect entire ſucceſs, and gave him hopes that Elizabeth had ſurmounted all ſcruples, and was finally determined to make choice of him for her huſband. In the midſt of the pomp which attended the anniverſary of her coronation, ſhe was ſeen, after long and intimate diſcourſe with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and to put it upon his; and all the ſpectators concluded that in this ceremony ſhe had given him a promiſe of marriage, and was even deſirous of ſignifying her intentions to all the world. St. Aldegonde, ambaſſador from the States, diſpatched immediately a letter to his maſters, informing them of this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who as well as the other Flemings regarded the queen as a kind of tutelar divinity, teſtified their joy by bonfires and the diſcharge of their great ordnance.[k] A puritan of Lincoln's-inn had written a paſ-

ſionate book, which he entitled, 'The Gulph in which England will be ſwallowed by the French Marriage.' He was apprehended and proſecuted by order of the queen, and was condemned to loſe his right hand as a libeller. Such was the conſtancy and loyalty of the man, that, immediately after the ſentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand, and, waving it over his head, cried, 'God ſave the queen!'

But, notwithſtanding this attachment which Elizabeth ſo openly diſcovered to the duke of Anjou, the combat of her ſentiments was not entirely over; and her ambition, as well as prudence, rouſing itſelf by intervals, ſtill filled her breaſt with doubt and heſitation. Almoſt all the courtiers whom ſhe truſted and favoured, Leiceſter, Hatton, and Walſingham, diſcovered an extreme averſion to the marriage; and the ladies of her bedchamber made no ſcruple of oppoſing her reſolution with the moſt zealous remonſtrances.[1] Among other enemies to the match, ſir Philip, ſon of ſir Henry Sidney, deputy of Ireland, and nephew to Leiceſter, a young man the moſt accompliſhed of the age, declared himſelf; and he uſed the freedom to write her a letter, in which he diſſuaded her from her preſent reſolution with an unuſual elegance of expreſſion, as well as force of reaſoning. He told her that the ſecurity of her government depended entirely on the affections of her proteſtant ſubjects; and ſhe could not, by any meaſure, more effectually diſguſt them than by eſpouſing a prince who was ſon of the perfidious Catharine, brother to the cruel and perfidious Charles, and who had himſelf imbrued his hands in the blood of the innocent and defenceleſs proteſtants: that the catholics were her mortal enemies, and believed either that ſhe had originally uſurped the crown, or was now lawfully depoſed by the pope's bull of excommunication; and nothing had ever ſo much elevated their hopes as the proſpect of her marriage with the duke of Anjou:

that her chief ſecurity at preſent againſt the efforts of ſo numerous, rich, and united a faction, was, that they poſſeſſed no head who could conduct their dangerous enterpriſes; and ſhe herſelf was raſhly ſupplying that defect, by giving an intereſt in the kingdom to a prince whoſe education had zealouſly attached him to that communion: that, though he was a ſtranger to the blood royal of England, the diſpoſitions of men were now ſuch that they preferred the religious to the civil connexions; and were more influenced by ſympathy in theological opinions than by the principles of legal and hereditary government: that the duke himſelf had diſcovered a very reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit; and, having often violated his loyalty to his elder brother and his ſovereign, there remained no hopes that he would paſſively ſubmit to a woman whom he might, in quality of huſband, think himſelf entitled to command: that the French nation, ſo populous, ſo much abounding in ſoldiers, ſo full of nobility who were devoted to arms, and for ſome time accuſtomed to ſerve for plunder, would ſupply him with partiſans dangerous to a people unwarlike and defenceleſs, like the generality of her ſubjects: that the plain and honourable path which ſhe had followed, of cultivating the affections of her people, had hitherto rendered her reign ſecure and happy; and, however her enemies might ſeem to multiply upon her, the ſame invincible rampart was ſtill able to protect and defend her: that, ſo long as the throne of France was filled by Henry or his poſterity, it was in vain to hope that the ties of blood would enſure the amity of that kingdom, preferably to the maxims of policy or the prejudices of religion; and, if ever the crown devolved on the duke of Anjou, the conjunction of France and England would prove a burden rather than a protection to the latter kingdom: that the example of her ſiſter Mary was ſufficient to inſtruct her in the danger of ſuch connexions, and to prove that the affection and confidence

of the Engliſh could never be maintained where they had ſuch reaſon to apprehend that their intereſts would every moment be ſacrificed to thoſe of a foreign and hoſtile nation: that, notwithſtanding theſe great inconveniences, diſcovered by paſt experience, the houſe of Burgundy, it muſt be confeſſed, was more popular in the nation than the family of France; and, what was of chief moment, Philip was of the ſame communion with Mary, and was connected with her by this great band of intereſt and affection: and that, however the queen might remain childleſs, even though old age ſhould grow upon her, the ſingular felicity and glory of her reign would preſerve her from contempt; the affections of her ſubjects, and thoſe of all the proteſtants in Europe, would defend her from danger; and her own prudence, without other aid or aſſiſtance, would baffle all the efforts of her moſt malignant enemies.[m]

Theſe reflections kept the queen in great anxiety and irreſolution; and ſhe was obſerved to paſs ſeveral nights without any ſleep or repoſe. At laſt her ſettled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and, having ſent for the duke of Anjou, ſhe had a long conference with him in private, where ſhe was ſuppoſed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expreſſed great diſguſt on his leaving her; threw away the ring which ſhe had given him; and uttered many curſes on the mutability of women, and of iſlanders.[n] Soon after he went over to his government of the Netherlands; loſt the confidence of the States by a raſh and violent attempt on their liberties; was expelled that country; retired into France, and there died. The queen, by timely reflection, ſaved herſelf from the numerous miſchiefs which muſt have attended ſo imprudent a marriage; and the diſtracted ſtate of the French monarchy prevented her from feeling any effects of that reſentment which ſhe had rea-

ſon to dread from the affront ſo wantonly put upon that royal family.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND. 1582.

THE anxiety of the queen, from the attempts of the Engliſh catholics, never ceaſed during the whole courſe of her reign; but the variety of revolutions which happened in all the neighbouring kingdoms were the ſource ſometimes of her hopes, ſometimes of her apprehenſions. This year the affairs of Scotland ſtrongly engaged her attention. The influence which the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, who now aſſumed the title of earl of Arran, had acquired over the young king, was but a ſlender foundation of authority; while the generality of the nobles, and all the preachers, were ſo much diſcontented with their adminiſtration. The aſſembly of the church appointed a ſolemn faſt; of which one of the avowed reaſons was the danger to which the king was expoſed from the company of wicked perſons;[o] and on that day the pulpits reſounded with declamations againſt Lenox, Arran, and all the preſent counſellors. When the minds of the people were ſufficiently prepared by theſe lectures a conſpiracy of the nobility was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for ſeizing the perſon of James at Ruthven, a feat of the earl of Gowry's; and the deſign, being kept ſecret, ſucceeded without any oppoſition. The leaders in this enterpriſe were the earl of Gowry himſelf, the earl of Marre, the lords Lindeſey and Boyd, the maſters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dumfermline, Paiſley, and Cambuſkenneth. The king wept when he found himſelf detained a priſoner; but the maſter of Glamis ſaid, 'No matter for his tears; better that boys weep than bearded men:' an expreſſion which James could never afterwards forgive.[p] But, notwithſtanding his reſentment, he found it neceſſary to ſubmit to the preſent neceſſity. He

pretended an entire acquieſcence in the conduct of the aſſociators; acknowledged the detention of his perſon to be acceptable ſervice; and agreed to ſummon both an aſſembly of the church and a convention of eſtates, in order to ratify that enterpriſe.

The aſſembly, though they had eſtabliſhed it as an inviolable rule that the king on no account, and under no pretence, ſhould ever intermeddle in eccleſiaſtical matters, made no ſcruple of taking civil affairs under their cognizance, and of deciding on this occaſion that the attempt of the conſpirators was acceptable to all that feared God, or tendered the preſervation of the king's perſon and proſperous ſtate of the realm. They even enjoined all the clergy to recommend theſe ſentiments from the pulpit; and they threatened with eccleſiaſtical cenſures every man who ſhould oppoſe the authority of the confederated lords.[q] The convention, being compoſed chiefly of theſe lords themſelves, added their ſanction to theſe proceedings. Arran was confined a priſoner in his own houſe: Lenox, though he had power to reſiſt, yet, rather than raiſe a civil war, or be the cauſe of bloodſhed,[r] choſe to retire into France, where he ſoon after died. He perſevered to the laſt in the proteſtant religion, to which James had converted him, but which the Scottiſh clergy could never be perſuaded that he had ſincerely embraced. The king ſent for his family, reſtored his ſon to his paternal honours and eſtate, took care to eſtabliſh the fortunes of all his other children; and to his laſt moments never forgot the early friendſhip which he had born their father: a ſtrong proof of the good diſpoſitions of that prince.[s]

No ſooner was this revolution known in England than the queen ſent ſir Henry Cary and ſir Robert Bowes to James, in order to congratulate him on his deliverance from the pernicious counſels of Lenox and Arran; to exhort him not to reſent the ſeeming violence committed on him by the confederated lords;

and to procure from him permiſſion for the return of the earl of Angus, who ever ſince Morton's fall had lived in England. They eaſily prevailed in procuring the recall of Angus; and, as James ſuſpected that Elizabeth had not been entirely unacquainted with the project of his detention, he thought proper before the Engliſh ambaſſadors to diſſemble his reſentment againſt the authors of it. Soon after La Mothe Fenelon and Menneville appeared as ambaſſadors from France: their errand was to inquire concerning the ſituation of the king, make profeſſions of their maſter's friendſhip, confirm the ancient league with France, and procure an accommodation between James and the queen of Scots. This laſt propoſal gave great umbrage to the clergy; and the aſſembly voted the ſettling of terms between the mother and ſon to be a moſt wicked undertaking. The pulpits reſounded with declamations againſt the French ambaſſadors; particularly Fenelon, whom they called the meſſenger of the bloody murderer, meaning the duke of Guiſe: and, as that miniſter, being knight of the Holy Ghoſt, wore a white croſs on his ſhoulder, they commonly denominated it in contempt the badge of Antichriſt. The king endeavoured, though in vain, to repreſs theſe inſolent reflections; but, in order to make the ambaſſadors ſome compenſation, he deſired the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to give them a ſplendid dinner before their departure. To prevent this entertainment, the clergy appointed that very day for a public faſt; and, finding that their orders were not regarded, they employed their ſermons in thundering curſes on the magiſtrates, who, by the king's direction, had put this mark of reſpect on the ambaſſadors. They even purſued them afterwards with the cenſures of the church; and it was with difficulty they were prevented from iſſuing the ſentence of excommunication againſt them, on account of their ſubmiſſion to royal, preferably to clerical, authority.'

MARY'S LETTER TO ELIZABETH. 1583.

WHAT increaſed their alarm with regard to an accommodation between James and Mary was, that the Engliſh ambaſſadors ſeemed to concur with the French in this propoſal; and the clergy were ſo ignorant as to believe the ſincerity of the profeſſions made by the former. The queen of Scots had often made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected; but, hearing of James's detention, ſhe wrote a letter in a more pathetic and more ſpirited ſtrain than uſual; craving the aſſiſtance of that princeſs both for her own and her ſon's liberty. She ſaid that the account of the prince's captivity had excited her moſt tender concern; and the experience which ſhe herſelf, during ſo many years, had of the extreme infelicity attending that ſituation, had made her the more apprehenſive leſt a like fate ſhould purſue her unhappy offspring: that the long train of injuſtice which ſhe had undergone, the calumnies to which ſhe had been expoſed, were ſo grievous, that, finding no place for right or truth among men, ſhe was reduced to make her laſt appeal to Heaven, the only competent tribunal between princes of equal juriſdiction, degree, and dignity: that, after her rebellious ſubjects, ſecretly inſtigated by Elizabeth's miniſters, had expelled her the throne, had confined her in priſon, had purſued her with arms, ſhe had voluntarily thrown herſelf under the protection of England; fatally allured by thoſe reiterated profeſſions of amity which had been made her, and by her confidence in the generoſity of a friend, an ally, and a kinſwoman: that, not content with excluding her from her preſence, with ſupporting the uſurpers of her throne, with contributing to the deſtruction of her faithful ſubjects, Elizabeth had reduced her to a worſe captivity than that from which ſhe had eſcaped, and

had made her this cruel return for the unlimited confidence which ſhe had repoſed in her: that, though her reſentment of ſuch ſevere uſage had never carried her farther than to uſe ſome diſappointed efforts for her deliverance, unhappy for herſelf, and fatal to others, ſhe found the rigours of confinement daily multiplied upon her; and at length carried to ſuch a height that it ſurpaſſed the bounds of all human patience any longer to endure them: that ſhe was cut off from all communication, not only with the reſt of mankind, but with her only ſon; and her maternal fondneſs, which was now more enlivened by their unhappy ſympathy in ſituation, and was her ſole remaining attachment to this world, deprived even of that melancholy ſolace which letters or meſſages could give: that the bitterneſs of her ſorrows, ſtill more than her cloſe confinement, had preyed upon her health, and had added the inſufferable weight of bodily infirmity to all thoſe other calamities under which ſhe laboured: that, while the daily experience of her maladies opened to her the comfortable proſpect of an approaching deliverance into a region where pain and ſorrow are no more, her enemies envied her that laſt conſolation; and, having ſecluded her from every joy on earth, had done what in them lay to debar her from all hopes in her future and eternal exiſtence: that the exerciſe of her religion was refuſed her; the uſe of thoſe ſacred rites in which ſhe had been educated; the commerce with thoſe holy miniſters whom Heaven had appointed to receive the acknowledgment of our tranſgreſſions, and to ſeal our penitence by a ſolemn readmiſſion into heavenly favour and forgiveneſs: that it was in vain to complain of the rigours of perſecution exerciſed in other kingdoms, when a queen and an innocent woman was excluded from an indulgence which never yet, in the moſt barbarous countries, had been denied to the meaneſt and moſt obnoxious malefactor: that, could ſhe ever be induced to deſcend

from that royal dignity in which Providence had placed her, or depart from her appeal to Heaven, there was only one other tribunal to which ſhe would appeal from all her enemies; to the juſtice and humanity of Elizabeth's own breaſt, and to that lenity which, uninfluenced by malignant counſel, ſhe would naturally be induced to exerciſe towards her: and that ſhe finally entreated her to reſume her natural diſpoſition, and to reflect on the ſupport as well as comfort which ſhe might receive from her ſon and herſelf, if, joining the obligations of gratitude to the ties of blood, ſhe would deign to raiſe them from their preſent melancholy ſituation, and reinſtate them in that liberty and authority to which they were entitled."

Elizabeth was engaged to obſtruct Mary's reſtoration chiefly becauſe ſhe foreſaw an unhappy alternative attending that event. If this princeſs recovered any conſiderable ſhare of authority in Scotland, her reſentment, ambition, zeal, and connexions both domeſtic and foreign, might render her a dangerous neighbour to England, and enable her, after ſuppreſſing the proteſtant party among her ſubjects, to revive thoſe pretenſions which ſhe had formerly advanced to the crown, and which her partiſans in both kingdoms ſtill ſupported with great induſtry and aſſurance. If ſhe were reinſtated in power with ſuch ſtrict limitations as could not be broken, ſhe might be diſguſted with her ſituation; and, flying abroad, form more deſperate attempts than any ſovereign who had a crown to hazard would willingly undertake. Mary herſelf, ſenſible of theſe difficulties, and convinced by experience that Elizabeth would for ever debar her the throne, was now become more humble in her wiſhes; and, as age and infirmities had repreſſed thoſe ſentiments of ambition by which ſhe had formerly been ſo much actuated, ſhe was willing to ſacrifice all her hopes of grandeur in order to obtain a little liberty; a bleſſing to which ſhe naturally aſpired with the fondeſt impa-

tience. She propoſed, therefore, that ſhe ſhould be aſſociated with her ſon in the title to the crown of Scotland, but that the adminiſtration ſhould remain ſolely in him: and ſhe was content to live in England in a private ſtation, and even under a kind of reſtraint; but with ſome more liberty, both for exerciſe and company, than ſhe had enjoyed ſince the firſt diſcovery of her intrigues with the duke of Norfolk. But Elizabeth, afraid leſt ſuch a looſe method of guarding her would facilitate her eſcape into France or Spain, or at leaſt would encourage and increaſe her partiſans, and enable her to conduct thoſe intrigues to which ſhe had already diſcovered ſo ſtrong a propenſity, was ſecretly determined to deny her requeſts; and, though ſhe feigned to aſſent to them, ſhe well knew how to diſappoint the expectations of the unhappy princeſs. While Lenox maintained his authority in Scotland, ſhe never gave any reply to all the applications made to her by the Scottiſh queen:[w] at preſent, when her own creatures had acquired poſſeſſion of the government, ſhe was reſolved to throw the odium of refuſal upon them; and, pretending that nothing farther was required to a perfect accommodation than the concurrence of the council of ſtate in Scotland, ſhe ordered her ambaſſador, Bowes, to open the negociation for Mary's liberty, and her aſſociation with her ſon in the title to the crown. Though ſhe ſeemed to make this conceſſion to Mary, ſhe refuſed her the liberty of ſending any ambaſſador of her own; and that princeſs could eaſily conjecture from this circumſtance what would be the reſult of the pretended negociation. The privy council of Scotland, inſtigated by the clergy, rejected all treaty; and James, who was now a captive in their hands, affirmed that he had never agreed to an aſſociation with his mother, and that the matter had never gone farther than ſome looſe propoſals for that purpoſe.[x]

The affairs of Scotland remained not long in the preſent ſituation. James, impatient of reſtraint, made his eſcape from his keepers; and, flying to St. Andrew's, ſummoned his friends and partiſans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marſhal, Montroſe, and Rothes, haſtened to pay their duty to their ſovereign; and the oppoſite party found themſelves unable to reſiſt ſo powerful a combination. They were offered a pardon upon their ſubmiſſion, and an acknowledgment of their fault in ſeizing the king's perſon, and reſtraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted of the terms: the greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Marre, Glamis, left the country, and took ſhelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth. The earl of Arran was recalled to court; and the malcontents, who could not brook the authority of Lenox, a man of virtue and moderation, found that by their reſiſtance they had thrown all power into the hands of a perſon whoſe counſels were as violent as his manners were profligate.[y]

Elizabeth wrote a letter to James; in which ſhe quoted a moral ſentence from Iſocrates, and indirectly reproached him with inconſtancy, and a breach of his engagements. James, in his reply, juſtified his meaſures; and retaliated by turning two paſſages of Iſocrates againſt her.[z] She next ſent Walſingham in an embaſſy to him; and her chief purpoſe, in employing that aged miniſter in an errand where ſo little buſineſs was to be tranſacted, was to learn, from a man of ſo much penetration and experience, the real character of James. This young prince poſſeſſed good parts, though not accompanied with that vigour and induſtry which his ſtation required; and, as he excelled in general diſcourſe and converſation, Walſingham entertained a higher idea of his talents than he was afterwards found, when real buſineſs was tranſacted, to have fully merited.[a] The account which he gave his miſtreſs induced her to treat James thence-

forth with ſome more regard than ſhe had hitherto been inclined to pay him.

The king of Scots, perſevering in his preſent views, ſummoned a parliament; where it was enacted that no clergyman ſhould preſume in his ſermons to utter falſe, untrue, or ſcandalous, ſpeeches againſt the king, the council, or the public meaſures; or to meddle in an improper manner with the affairs of his majeſty and the ſtates.[b] The clergy, finding that the pulpit would be no longer a ſanctuary for them, were extremely offended: they ſaid that the king was become popiſh in his heart; and they gave their adverſaries the epithets of groſs libertines, belly gods, and infamous perſons.[c] The violent conduct of Arran ſoon brought over the popularity to their ſide. The earl of Gowry, though pardoned for the late attempt, was committed to priſon, was tried on ſome new accuſations, condemned, and executed. Many innocent perſons ſuffered from the tyranny of this favourite; and the baniſhed lords, being aſſiſted by Elizabeth, now found the time favourable for the recovery of their eſtates and authority. After they had been foiled in one attempt upon Stirling, they prevailed in another; and, being admitted to the king's preſence, were pardoned and reſtored to his favour.

Arran was degraded from authority; deprived of that eſtate and title which he had uſurped; and the whole country ſeemed to be compoſed to tranquillity. Elizabeth, after oppoſing, during ſome time, the credit of the favourite, had found it more expedient before his fall to compound all differences with him by means of Daviſon, a miniſter whom ſhe ſent to Scotland; but, having more confidence in the lords whom ſhe had helped to reſtore, ſhe was pleaſed with this alteration of affairs, and maintained a good correſpondence with the new court and miniſtry of James.

CONSPIRACIES IN ENGLAND. 1584.

THESE revolutions in Scotland would have been regarded as of ſmall importance to the repoſe and ſecurity of Elizabeth, had her own ſubjects been entirely united, and had not the zeal of the catholics, excited by conſtraint more properly than perſecution, daily threatened her with ſome dangerous inſurrection. The vigilance of the miniſters, particularly of Burleigh and Walſingham, was raiſed in proportion to the activity of the malcontents; and many arts, which had been blameable in a more peaceful government, were employed in detecting conſpiracies, and even diſcovering the ſecret inclinations of men. Counterfeit letters were written in the name of the queen of Scots, or of the Engliſh exiles, and privately conveyed to the houſes of the catholics; ſpies were hired to obſerve the actions and diſcourſe of ſuſpected perſons; informers were countenanced; and, though the ſagacity of theſe two great miniſters helped them to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe intelligence, many calumnies were, no doubt, hearkened to, and all the ſubjects, particularly the catholics, kept in the utmoſt anxiety and inquietude. Henry Piercy earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded ſome years before, and Philip Howard earl of Arundel, ſon of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under ſuſpicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own houſe. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to cuſtody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treaſonable deſigns, immediately withdrew beyond ſea. Throgmorton confeſſed that a plan for an invaſion and inſurrection had been laid; and, though on his trial he was deſirous of retracting this con-

feſſion, and imputing it to the fear of torture, he was found guilty, and executed. Mendoza the Spaniſh ambaſſador, having promoted this conſpiracy, was ordered to depart the kingdom; and Wade was ſent into Spain, to excuſe his diſmiſſion, and to deſire the king to ſend another ambaſſador in his place: but Philip would not ſo much as admit the Engliſh ambaſſador to his preſence. Creighton, a Scottiſh jeſuit, coming over on board a veſſel which was ſeized, tore ſome papers, with an intention of throwing them into the ſea; but, the wind blowing them back upon the ſhip, they were pieced together, and diſcovered ſome dangerous ſecrets.[d]

Many of theſe conſpiracies were, with great appearance of reaſon, imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots;[e] and, as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought that they could not uſe too many precautions againſt the danger of her claims and the reſtleſs activity of her temper. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewſbury, who, though vigilant and faithful in that truſt, had alſo been indulgent to his priſoner, particularly with regard to air and exerciſe: and ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of ſir Amias Paulet and ſir Drue Drury; men of honour, but inflexible in their care and attention. An aſſociation was alſo ſet on foot by the earl of Leiceſter and other courtiers; and, as Elizabeth was beloved by the whole nation, except the more zealous catholics, men of all ranks willingly flocked to the ſubſcription of it. The purport of this aſſociation was to defend the queen, to revenge her death or any injury committed againſt her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title ſoever they might poſſeſs, by whoſe ſuggeſtion or for whoſe behoof any violence ſhould be offered to her majeſty.[f] The queen of Scots was ſenſible that this aſſociation was levelled againſt her; and, to remove all ſuſpicion from herſelf, ſhe alſo deſired leave to ſubſcribe it.

ELIZABETH, that ſhe might the more diſcourage malcontents, by ſhewing them the concurrence of the nation in her favour, ſummoned a new parliament; and ſhe met with that dutiful attachment which ſhe expected. The aſſociation was confirmed by parliament; and a clauſe was added, by which the queen was empowered to name commiſſioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown who ſhould attempt or imagine any invaſion, inſurrection, or aſſaſſination againſt her: upon condemnation, pronounced by theſe commiſſioners, the guilty perſon was excluded from all claim to the ſucceſſion, and was farther puniſhable as her majeſty ſhould direct. And, for greater ſecurity, a council of regency, in caſe of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to ſettle the ſucceſſion, and to take vengeance for that act of treaſon.[g]

A ſevere law was alſo enacted againſt jeſuits and popiſh prieſts; it was ordained that they ſhould depart the kingdom within forty days; that thoſe who ſhould remain beyond that time, or ſhould afterwards return, ſhould be guilty of treaſon; that thoſe who harboured or relieved them ſhould be guilty of felony; that thoſe who were educated in ſeminaries, if they returned not in ſix months after notice given, and ſubmitted not themſelves to the queen before a biſhop or two juſtices, ſhould be guilty of treaſon; and that if any, ſo ſubmitting themſelves, ſhould within ten years approach the court, or come within ten miles of it, their ſubmiſſion ſhould be void.[h] By this law the exerciſe of the catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was in many inſtances connived at, was totally ſuppreſſed. In the ſubſequent part of the queen's reign the law was ſometimes executed by the capital puniſh-

ment of prieſts; and, though the partiſans of that princeſs aſſerted that they were puniſhed for their treaſon, not their religion, the apology muſt only be underſtood in this ſenſe, that the law was enacted on account of the treaſonable views and attempts of the ſect, not that every individual who ſuffered the penalty of the law was convicted of treaſon.[i] The catholics, therefore, might now with juſtice complain of a violent perſecution; which we may ſafely affirm, in ſpite of the rigid and bigoted maxims of that age, not to be the beſt method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the eſtabliſhed government and religion.

The parliament, beſides arming the queen with theſe powers, granted her a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths. The only circumſtance in which their proceedings were diſagreeable to her was an application made by the commons for a farther reformation in eccleſiaſtical matters: yet even in this attempt, which affected her as well as them in a delicate point, they diſcovered how much they were overawed by her authority. The majority of the houſe were puritans, or inclined to that ſect;[k] but the ſevere reprimands which they had already in former ſeſſions met with from the throne deterred them from introducing any bill concerning religion; a proceeding which would have been interpreted as an encroachment on the prerogative: they were content to proceed by way of humble petition, and that not addreſſed to her majeſty, which would have given offence, but to the houſe of lords, or rather the biſhops, who had a ſeat in that houſe, and from whom alone they were willing to receive all advances towards reformation:[l] a ſtrange departure from what we now apprehend to be the dignity of the commons!

The commons deſired, in their humble petition, that no biſhop ſhould exerciſe his function of ordination but with the conſent

and concurrence of ſix preſbyters. But this demand, as it really introduced a change of eccleſiaſtical government, was firmly rejected by the prelates. They deſired that no clergyman ſhould be inſtituted into any benefice without previous notice being given to the pariſh, that they might examine whether there lay any objection to his life or doctrine: an attempt towards a popular model, which naturally met with the ſame fate. In another article of the petition they prayed that the biſhops ſhould not inſiſt upon every ceremony, or deprive incumbents for omiting part of the ſervice: as if uniformity in public worſhip had not been eſtabliſhed by law, or as if the prelates had been endowed with a diſpenſing power. They complained of abuſes which prevailed in pronouncing the ſentence of excommunication, and they entreated the reverend fathers to think of ſome law for the remedy of theſe abuſes; implying, that thoſe matters were too high for the commons of themſelves to attempt.

But the moſt material article which the commons touched upon in their petition was the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the oath ex officio, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a ſubject of ſuch importance as to merit ſome explanation.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURT.

The firſt primate after the queen's acceſſion was Parker; a man rigid in exacting conformity to the eſtabliſhed worſhip, and in puniſhing, by fine or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy, of the church. He died in 1575; and was ſucceeded by Grindal, who, as he himſelf was inclined to the new ſect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws againſt them, or to puniſh the nonconforming clergy. He declined

obeying the queen's orders for the ſuppreſſion of propheſyings, or the aſſemblies of the zealots in private houſes, which ſhe apprehended had become ſo many academies of fanaticiſm; and for this offence ſhe had, by an order of the ſtar chamber, ſequeſtered him from his archiepiſcopal function, and confined him to his own houſe. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, ſhe determined not to fall into the ſame error in her next choice; and ſhe named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already ſignalized his pen in controverſy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the puritans by argument, was now reſolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of penal ſtatutes. He informed the queen that all the ſpiritual authority lodged in the prelates was inſignificant without the ſanction of the crown; and, as there was no eccleſiaſtical commiſſion at that time in force, he engaged her to iſſue a new one, more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority.[m] She appointed forty-four commiſſioners, twelve of whom were eccleſiaſtics; three commiſſioners made a quorum; the juriſdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumſtance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the cleareſt principles of law and natural equity. The commiſſioners were empowered to viſit and reform all errors, hereſies, ſchiſms; in a word, to regulate all opinions, as well as to puniſh all breach of uniformity in the exerciſe of public worſhip. They were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witneſſes, but by all other means and ways which they could deviſe; that is, by the rack, by torture, by inquiſition, by impriſonment. Where they found reaſon to ſuſpect any perſon they might adminiſter to him an oath, called ex officio, by which he was bound to anſwer all queſtions, and might thereby be obliged to accuſe himſelf or his moſt intimate friend. The fines

which they levied were diſcretionary, and often occaſioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom. The impriſonment to which they condemned any delinquent was limited by no rule but their own pleaſure. They aſſumed a power of impoſing on the clergy what new articles of ſubſcription, and conſequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all other ſpiritual courts were ſubject, ſince the reformation, to inhibitions from the ſupreme courts of law, the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners were exempted from that legal juriſdiction, and were liable to no control. And, the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to puniſh all inceſts, adulteries, fornications; all outrages, miſbehaviours, and diſorders in marriage: and the puniſhments which they might inflict were according to their wiſdom, conſcience, and diſcretion. In a word, this court was a real inquiſition; attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inſeparable from that tribunal. And, as the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical court was deſtructive of all law, ſo its erection was deemed by many a mere uſurpation of this imperious princeſs; and had no other foundation than a clauſe of a ſtatute, reſtoring the ſupremacy to the crown, and empowering the ſovereign to appoint commiſſioners for exerciſing that prerogative. But prerogative in general, eſpecially the ſupremacy, was ſuppoſed in that age to involve powers which no law, precedent, or reaſon, could limit and determine.

But, though the commons, in their humble petition to the prelates, had touched ſo gently and ſubmiſſively on the eccleſiaſtical grievances, the queen, in a ſpeech from the throne at the end of the ſeſſion, could not forbear taking notice of their preſumption, and reproving them for thoſe murmurs which, for fear of offending her, they had pronounced ſo low as not directly to reach her royal ears. After giving them ſome general thanks

for their attachment to her, and making profeſſions of affection to her ſubjects, ſhe told them that whoever found fault with the church threw a ſlander upon her, ſince ſhe was appointed by God ſupreme ruler over it, and no hereſies or ſchiſms could prevail in the kingdom but by her permiſſion and negligence: that ſome abuſes muſt neceſſarily have place in every thing; but ſhe warned the prelates to be watchful; for, if ſhe found them careleſs of their charge, ſhe was fully determined to depoſe them: that ſhe was commonly ſuppoſed to have employed herſelf in many ſtudies, particularly philoſophical (by which I ſuppoſe ſhe meant theological); and ſhe would confeſs that few, whoſe leiſure had not allowed them to make profeſſion of ſcience, had read or reflected more: that, as ſhe could diſcern the preſumption of many, in curiouſly canvaſſing the ſcriptures, and ſtarting innovations, ſhe would no longer endure this licentiouſneſs; but meant to guide her people, by God's rule, in the juſt mean between the corruptions of Rome and the errors of modern ſectaries: and that, as the Romaniſts were the inveterate enemies of her perſon, ſo the other innovators were dangerous to all kingly government; and, under colour of preaching the word of God, preſumed to exerciſe their private judgment, and to cenſure the actions of the prince.[n]

From the whole of this tranſaction we may obſerve that the commons, in making their general application to the prelates, as well as in ſome particular articles of their petition, ſhewed themſelves wholly ignorant, no leſs than the queen, of the principles of liberty and a legal conſtitution. And it may not be unworthy of remark that Elizabeth, ſo far from yielding to the diſpleaſure of the parliament againſt the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commiſſion, in which ſhe enlarged, rather than reſtrained, the powers of the commiſſioners.[o]

During this ſeſſion of parliament there was diſcovered a conſpiracy, which much increaſed the general animoſity againſt the catholics, and ſtill farther widened the breach between the religious parties. William Parry, a catholic gentleman, had received the queen's pardon for a crime by which he was expoſed to capital puniſhment; and, having obtained permiſſion to travel, he retired to Milan, and made open profeſſion of his religion, which he had concealed while he remained in England. He was here perſuaded by Palmio, a jeſuit, that he could not perform a more meritorious action than to take away the life of his ſovereign and his benefactreſs; the nuncio Campeggio, when conſulted, approved extremely of this pious undertaking; and Parry, though ſtill agitated with doubts, came to Paris, with an intention of paſſing over to England, and executing his bloody purpoſe. He was here encouraged in the deſign by Thomas Morgan, a gentleman of great credit in the party; and, though Watts and ſome other catholic prieſts told him that the enterpriſe was criminal and impious, he preferred the authority of Raggazzoni, the nuncio at Paris, and determined to perſiſt in his reſolution. He here wrote a letter to the pope, which was conveyed to cardinal Como; he communicated his intention to the holy father, and craved his abſolution and paternal benediction. He received an anſwer from the cardinal, by which he found that his purpoſe was extremely applauded; and he came over to England with a full deſign of carrying it into execution. So deeply are the ſentiments of morality engraved in the human breaſt, that it is difficult even for the prejudices of falſe religion totally to efface them; and this bigoted aſſaſſin reſolved, before he came to extremities, to try every other expedient for alleviating the perſecutions under which the catholics at that time laboured. He found means of being introduced to the queen; aſſured her that many conſpiracies were formed againſt her, and exhorted her,

as ſhe tendered her life, to give the Romaniſts ſome more indulgence in the exerciſe of their religion: but, leſt he ſhould be tempted by the opportunity to aſſaſſinate her, he always came to court unprovided with every offenſive weapon. He even found means to be elected member of parliament; and, having made a vehement harangue againſt the ſevere laws enacted this laſt ſeſſion, was committed to cuſtody for his freedom, and ſequeſtered from the houſe. His failure in theſe attempts confirmed him the more in his former reſolution; and he communicated his intentions to Nevil, who entered zealouſly into the deſign, and was determined to have a ſhare in the merits of its execution. A book newly publiſhed by Dr. Allen, afterwards created a cardinal, ſerved farther to efface all their ſcruples with regard to the murder of an heretical prince; and, having agreed to ſhoot the queen while ſhe ſhould be taking the air on horſeback, they reſolved, if they could not make their eſcape, to ſacrifice their lives, in fulfilling a duty ſo agreeable, as they imagined, to the will of God and to true religion. But, while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpoſe, the earl of Weſtmoreland happened to die in exile; and, as Nevil was next heir to that family, he began to entertain hopes that, by doing ſome acceptable ſervice to the queen, he might recover the eſtate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the laſt earl. He betrayed the whole conſpiracy to the miniſters; and Parry, being thrown into priſon, confeſſed the guilt, both to them and to the jury who tried him. The letter from cardinal Como, being produced in court, put Parry's narrative beyond all queſtion; and that criminal, having received ſentence of death,[p] ſuffered the puniſhment which the law appointed for his treaſonable conſpiracy.[q]

THESE bloody deſigns now appeared every where as the reſult of that bigoted ſpirit by which the two religions, eſpecially the catholic, were at this time actuated. Somerville, a gentleman of the county of Warwick, ſomewhat diſordered in his underſtanding, had heard ſo much of the merit attending the aſſaſſination of heretics and perſecutors, that he came to London with a view of murdering the queen; but, having betrayed his deſign by ſome extravagances, he was thrown into priſon, and there periſhed by a voluntary death.[r] About the ſame time Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook and executed the ſame deſign againſt the prince of Orange; and that great man periſhed at Delft, by the hands of a deſperate aſſaſſin, who, with a reſolution worthy of a better cauſe, ſacrificed his own life, in order to deſtroy the famous reſtorer and protector of religious liberty. The Flemings, who regarded that prince as their father, were filled with great ſorrow, as well when they conſidered the miſerable end of ſo brave a patriot, as their own forlorn condition from the loſs of ſo powerful and prudent a leader, and from the rapid progreſs of the Spaniſh arms. The prince of Parma had made every year great advances upon them, had reduced ſeveral of the provinces to obedience, and had laid cloſe ſiege to Antwerp, the richeſt and moſt populous city of the Netherlands, whoſe ſubjection, it was foreſeen, would give a mortal blow to the already declining affairs of the revolted provinces. The only hopes which remained to them aroſe from the proſpect of foreign ſuccour. Being well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they expected better ſucceſs in France; and, in the view of engaging Henry to embrace their defence, they tendered him the ſovereignty of their provinces.

But the preſent condition of that monarchy obliged the king to reject ſo advantageous an offer. The duke of Anjou's death, which he thought would have tended to reſtore public tranquillity, by delivering him from the intrigues of that prince, plunged him into the deepeſt diſtreſs; and the king of Navarre, a profeſſed hugonot, being next heir to the crown, the duke of Guiſe took thence occaſion to revive the catholic league, and to urge Henry, by the moſt violent expedients, to ſeek the excluſion of that brave and virtuous prince. Henry himſelf, though a zealous catholic, yet, becauſe he declined complying with their precipitate meaſures, became an object of averſion to the league; and, as his zeal, in practiſing all the ſuperſtitious obſervances of the Romiſh church, was accompanied with a very licentious conduct in private life, the catholic faction, in contradiction to univerſal experience, embraced thence the pretext of repreſenting his devotion as mere deceit and hypocriſy. Finding his authority to decline, he was obliged to declare war againſt the hugonots, and to put arms into the hands of the league, whom, both on account of their dangerous pretenſions at home and their cloſe alliance with Philip, he ſecretly regarded as his more dangerous enemies. Conſtrained by the ſame policy, he dreaded the danger of aſſociating himſelf with the revolted proteſtants in the Low Countries, and was obliged to renounce that inviting opportunity of revenging himſelf for all the hoſtile intrigues and enterpriſes of Philip.

The States, reduced to this extremity, ſent over a ſolemn embaſſy to London, and made anew an offer to the queen of acknowledging her for their ſovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and aſſiſtance. Elizabeth's wiſeſt counſellors were divided in opinion with regard to the conduct which ſhe ſhould hold in this critical and important emergence. Some adviſed her to reject the offer of the States, and repreſented the im-

minent dangers, as well as injuſtice, attending the acceptance of it. They ſaid that the ſuppreſſion of rebellious ſubjects was the common cauſe of all ſovereigns, and any encouragement given to the revolt of the Flemings might prove the example of a like pernicious licenſe to the Engliſh: that, though princes were bound by the laws of the Supreme Being not to oppreſs their ſubjects, the people never were entitled to forget all duty to their ſovereign, or transfer, from every fancy or diſguſt, or even from the juſteſt ground of complaint, their obedience to any other maſter: that the queen, in the ſuccours hitherto afforded the Flemings, had conſidered them as labouring under oppreſſion, not as entitled to freedom; and had intended only to admoniſh Philip not to perſevere in his tyranny, without any view of raviſhing from him theſe provinces which he enjoyed by hereditary right from his anceſtors: that her ſituation in Ireland, and even in England, would afford that powerful monarch ſufficient opportunity of retaliating upon her; and ſhe muſt thenceforth expect that, inſtead of ſecretly fomenting faction, he would openly employ his whole force in the protection and defence of the catholics: that the pope would undoubtedly unite his ſpiritual arms to the temporal ones of Spain: and that the queen would ſoon repent her making ſo precarious an acquiſition in foreign countries, by expoſing her own dominions to the moſt imminent danger.[5]

Other counſellors of Elizabeth maintained a contrary opinion. They aſſerted that the queen had not, even from the beginning of her reign, but certainly had not at preſent, the choice whether ſhe would embrace friendſhip or hoſtility with Philip: that, by the whole tenor of that prince's conduct, it appeared that his ſole aims were, the extending of his empire, and the entire ſubjection of the proteſtants, under the ſpecious pretence of maintaining the catholic faith: that the provocations which ſhe

had already given him, joined to his general ſcheme of policy, would for ever render him her implacable enemy; and, as ſoon as he had ſubdued his revolted ſubjects, he would undoubtedly fall, with the whole force of his united empire, on her defenceleſs ſtate: that the only queſtion was, whether ſhe would maintain a war abroad, and ſupported by allies, or wait till the ſubjection of all the confederates of England ſhould give her enemies leiſure to begin their hoſtilities in the bowels of the kingdom: that the revolted provinces, though in a declining condition, poſſeſſed ſtill conſiderable force; and, by the aſſiſtance of England, by the advantages of their ſituation, and by their inveterate antipathy to Philip, might ſtill be enabled to maintain the conteſt againſt the Spaniſh monarchy: that their maritime power, united to the queen's, would give her entire ſecurity on the ſide from which alone ſhe could be aſſaulted, and would even enable her to make inroads on Philip's dominions, both in Europe and the Indies: that a war which was neceſſary could never be unjuſt; and ſelf-defence was concerned, as well in preventing certain dangers at a diſtance as in repelling any immediate invaſion: and that, ſince hoſtility with Spain was the unavoidable conſequence of the preſent intereſts and ſituations of the two monarchies, it were better to compenſate that danger and loſs by the acquiſition of ſuch important provinces to the Engliſh empire.'

Amidſt theſe oppoſite counſels the queen, apprehenſive of the conſequences attending each extreme, was inclined to ſteer a middle courſe; and, though ſuch conduct is ſeldom prudent, ſhe was not, in this reſolution, guided by any prejudice or miſtaken affection. She was determined not to permit, without oppoſition, the total ſubjection of the revolted provinces, whoſe intereſts ſhe deemed ſo cloſely connected with her own: but, foreſeeing that the acceptance of their ſovereignty would oblige her

to employ her whole force in their defence, would give umbrage to her neighbours, and would expoſe her to the reproach of ambition and uſurpation, imputations which hitherto ſhe had carefully avoided, ſhe immediately rejected this offer. She concluded a league with the States on the following conditions: that ſhe ſhould ſend over an army to their aſſiſtance, of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others whom ſhe ſhould appoint, ſhould be admitted into the council of the States; that neither party ſhould make peace without the conſent of the other; that her expenſes ſhould be refunded after the concluſion of the war; and that the towns of Fluſhing and the Brille, with the caſtle of Rammekins, ſhould, in the mean time, be conſigned into her hands by way of ſecurity.

The queen knew that this meaſure would immediately engage her in open hoſtilities with Philip; yet was not ſhe terrified with the view of the preſent greatneſs of that monarch. The continent of Spain was at that time rich and populous; and the late addition of Portugal, beſides ſecuring internal tranquillity, had annexed an opulent kingdom to Philip's dominions, had made him maſter of many ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, and of the whole commerce of thoſe regions; and had much increaſed his naval power, in which he was before chiefly deficient. All the princes of Italy, even the pope and the court of Rome, were reduced to a kind of ſubjection under him, and ſeemed to poſſeſs their ſovereignty on terms ſomewhat precarious. The Auſtrian branch in Germany, with their dependent principalities, was cloſely connected with him, and was ready to ſupply him with troops for every enterpriſe. All the treaſures of the Weſt Indies were in his poſſeſſion; and the preſent ſcarcity of the precious metals in every country of Europe rendered the influence of his riches the more forcible and extenſive. The Ne-

therlands ſeemed on the point of relapſing into ſervitude; and ſmall hopes were entertained of their withſtanding thoſe numerous and veteran armies which, under the command of the moſt experienced generals, he employed againſt them. Even France, which was wont to counterbalance the Auſtrian greatneſs, had loſt all her force from inteſtine commotions; and, as the catholics, the ruling party, were cloſely connected with him, he rather expected thence an augmentation than a diminution of his power. Upon the whole, ſuch prepoſſeſſions were every where entertained concerning the force of the Spaniſh monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when he heard that Elizabeth had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, ſcrupled not to ſay that ſhe had now taken the diadem from her head, and had adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war.[u] Yet was this princeſs rather cautious than enterpriſing in her natural temper: ſhe never needed more to be impelled by the vigour, than reſtrained by the prudence, of her miniſters: but, when ſhe ſaw an evident neceſſity, ſhe braved danger with magnanimous courage; and, truſting to her own conſummate wiſdom, and to the affections, however divided, of her people, ſhe prepared herſelf to reſiſt, and even to aſſault, the whole force of the catholic monarch.

The earl of Leiceſter was ſent over to Holland at the head of the Engliſh auxiliary forces. He carried with him a ſplendid retinue; being accompanied by the young earl of Eſſex, his ſon-in-law, the lords Audley and North, ſir William Ruſſel, ſir Thomas Shirley, ſir Arthur Baſſet, ſir Walter Waller, ſir Gervaſe Clifton, and a ſelect troop of five hundred gentlemen. He was received on his arrival at Fluſhing by his nephew ſir Philip Sidney, the governor; and every town through which he paſſed expreſſed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his preſence and the queen's protection had brought them the

moſt certain deliverance. The States, deſirous of engaging Elizabeth ſtill farther in their defence, and knowing the intereſt which Leiceſter poſſeſſed with her, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him in ſome reſpects as their ſovereign. But this ſtep had a contrary effect to what they expected. The queen was diſpleaſed with the artifice of the States, and the ambition of Leiceſter. She ſeverely reprimanded both; and it was with ſome difficulty that, after many humble ſubmiſſions, they were able to appeaſe her.

HOSTILITIES WITH SPAIN. 1586.

America was regarded as the chief ſource of Philip's power, as well as the moſt defenceleſs part of his dominions; and Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with that monarch was unavoidable, reſolved not to leave him unmoleſted in that quarter. The great ſucceſs of the Spaniards and Portugueſe in both Indies had excited a ſpirit of emulation in England; and, as the progreſs of commerce, ſtill more that of colonies, is ſlow and gradual, it was happy that a war in this critical period had opened a more flattering proſpect to the avarice and ambition of the Engliſh, and had tempted them, by the view of ſudden and exorbitant profit, to engage in naval enterpriſes. A fleet of twenty ſail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies: two thouſand three hundred volunteers, beſides ſeamen, engaged on board of it; ſir Francis Drake was appointed admiral; Chriſtopher Carliſle commander of the land forces. They took St. Jago, near Cape Verde, by ſurpriſe; and found in it plenty of proviſions, but no riches. They ſailed to Hiſpaniola; and, eaſily making themſelves maſter of St. Domingo by aſſault, obliged the inhabitants to ranſom their houſes by a ſum of money.

Carthagena fell next into their hands after ſome more reſiſtance, and was treated in the ſame manner. They burned St. Anthony and St. Helens, two towns on the coaſt of Florida. Sailing along the coaſt of Virginia, they found the ſmall remains of a colony which had been planted there by ſir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone extremely to decay. This was the firſt attempt of the Engliſh to form ſuch ſettlements; and, though they have ſince ſurpaſſed all European nations, both in the ſituation of their colonies and in the noble principles of liberty and induſtry, on which they are founded, they had here been ſo unſucceſsful, that the miſerable planters abandoned their ſettlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with ſo much riches as encouraged the volunteers, and with ſuch accounts of the Spaniſh weakneſs in thoſe countries as ſerved extremely to inflame the ſpirits of the nation to future enterpriſes. The great mortality which the climate had produced in his fleet was, as is uſual, but a feeble reſtraint on the avidity and ſanguine hopes of young adventurers.[w] It is thought that Drake's fleet firſt introduced the uſe of tobacco into England.

The enterpriſes of Leiceſter were much leſs ſucceſsful than thoſe of Drake. This man poſſeſſed neither courage nor capacity equal to the truſt repoſed in him by the queen; and, as he was the only bad choice ſhe made for any conſiderable employment, men naturally believed that ſhe had here been influenced by an affection ſtill more partial than that of friendſhip. He gained at firſt ſome advantage in an action againſt the Spaniards; and threw ſuccours into Grave, by which that place was enabled to make a vigorous defence: but the cowardice of the governor, Van Hemert, rendered all theſe efforts uſeleſs. He capitulated after a feeble reſiſtance; and, being tried for his conduct, ſuffered a capital puniſhment from the ſentence of a court-

martial. The prince of Parma next undertook the ſiege of Venlo, which was ſurrendered to him after ſome reſiſtance. The fate of Nuys was more diſmal, being taken by aſſault while the garriſon was treating of a capitulation. Rhimberg, which was garriſoned by twelve hundred Engliſh, under the command of colonel Morgan, was afterwards beſieged by the Spaniards; and Leiceſter, thinking himſelf too weak to attempt raiſing the ſiege, endeavoured to draw off the prince of Parma by forming another enterpriſe. He firſt attacked Doeſburg, and ſucceeded; he then ſat down before Zutphen, which the Spaniſh general thought ſo important a fortreſs that he haſtened to its relief. He made the marquis of Gueſto advance with a convoy, which he intended to throw into the place. They were favoured by a fog; but, falling by accident on a body of Engliſh cavalry, a furious action enſued, in which the Spaniards were worſted, and the marquis of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was ſlain. The purſuit was ſtopped by the advance of the prince of Parma with the main body of the Spaniſh army; and the Engliſh cavalry, on their return from the field, found their advantage more than compenſated by the loſs of ſir Philip Sidney, who, being mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the ſoldiers, and ſoon after died. This perſon is deſcribed by the writers of that age as the moſt perfect model of an accompliſhed gentleman that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite converſation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the Engliſh court; and, as the credit which he poſſeſſed with the queen and the earl of Leiceſter was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praiſes have been tranſmitted with advantage to poſterity. No perſon was ſo low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this laſt action, while he was lying on

the field mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirſt; but, obſerving a ſoldier near him in a like miſerable condition, he ſaid, 'This man's neceſſity is ſtill greater than mine;' and reſigned to him the bottle of water. The king of Scots, ſtruck with admiration of Sidney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verſes, which he compoſed on the death of that young hero.

The Engliſh, though a long peace had deprived them of all experience, were ſtrongly poſſeſſed of military genius; and the advantages gained by the prince of Parma were not attributed to the ſuperior bravery and diſcipline of the Spaniards, but ſolely to the want of military abilities in Leiceſter. The States were much diſcontented with his management of the war; ſtill more with his arbitrary and imperious conduct; and at the end of the campaign they applied to him for a redreſs of all their grievances. But Leiceſter, without giving them any ſatisfaction, departed ſoon after for England.*

The queen, while ſhe provoked ſo powerful an enemy as the king of Spain, was not forgetful to ſecure herſelf on the ſide of Scotland; and ſhe endeavoured both to cultivate the friendſhip and alliance of her kinſman James, and to remove all grounds of quarrel between them. An attempt which ſhe had made ſome time before was not well calculated to gain the confidence of that prince. She had diſpatched Wotton as her ambaſſador to Scotland; but, though ſhe gave him private inſtructions with regard to her affairs, ſhe informed James that, when ſhe had any political buſineſs to diſcuſs with him, ſhe would employ another miniſter; that this man was not fitted for ſerious negociations; and that her chief purpoſe in ſending him was to entertain the king with witty and facetious converſation, and to partake without reſerve of his pleaſures and amuſements. Wotton was maſter of profound diſſimulation, and knew how to cover, under the

THE DEATH OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

appearance of a careleſs gaiety, the deepeſt deſigns and moſt dangerous artifices. When but a youth of twenty he had been employed by his uncle, Dr. Wotton, ambaſſador in France during the reign of Mary, to enſnare the conſtable Montmorency; and, had not his purpoſe been fruſtrated by pure accident, his cunning had prevailed over all the caution and experience of that aged miniſter. It is no wonder that, after years had improved him in all the arts of deceit, he ſhould gain an aſcendant over a young prince of ſo open and unguarded a temper as James; eſpecially when the queen's recommendation prepared the way for his reception. He was admitted into all the pleaſures of the king; made himſelf maſter of his ſecrets; and had ſo much the more authority with him in political tranſactions, as he did not ſeem to pay the leaſt attention to theſe matters. The Scottiſh miniſters, who obſerved the growing intereſt of this man, endeavoured to acquire his friendſhip; and ſcrupled not to ſacrifice to his intrigues the moſt eſſential intereſts of their maſter. Elizabeth's uſual jealouſies with regard to her heirs began now to be levelled againſt James; and, as that prince had attained the years proper for marriage, ſhe was apprehenſive leſt, by being ſtrengthened with children and alliances, he ſhould acquire the greater intereſt and authority with her Engliſh ſubjects. She directed Wotton to form a ſecret concert with ſome Scottiſh noblemen, and to procure their promiſe that James, during three years, ſhould not on any account be permitted to marry. In conſequence of this view they endeavoured to embroil him with the king of Denmark, who had ſent ambaſſadors to Scotland on pretence of demanding reſtitution of the Orkneys, but really with a view of opening a propoſal of marriage between James and his daughter. Wotton is ſaid to have employed his intrigues to purpoſes ſtill more dangerous. He formed, it is pretended, a conſpiracy with ſome malcontents, to ſeize the perſon of the king,

and to deliver him into the hands of Elizabeth, who would probably have denied all concurrence in the deſign, but would have been ſure to retain him in perpetual thraldom, if not captivity. The conſpiracy was detected, and Wotton fled haſtily from Scotland, without taking leave of the king.[y]

James's ſituation obliged him to diſſemble his reſentment of this traiterous attempt, and his natural temper inclined him ſoon to forgive and forget it. The queen found no difficulty in renewing the negociations for a ſtrict alliance between Scotland and England; and, the more effectually to gain the prince's friendſhip, ſhe granted him a penſion equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grandmother, the counteſs of Lenox, lately deceaſed.[z] A league was formed between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. It was ſtipulated that, if Elizabeth were invaded, James ſhould aid her with a body of two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot; that Elizabeth, in a like caſe, ſhould ſend to his aſſiſtance three thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot; that the charge of theſe armies ſhould be defrayed by the prince who demanded aſſiſtance; that, if the invaſion ſhould be made upon England within ſixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom ſhould march its whole force to the aſſiſtance of the former; and that the preſent league ſhould ſuperſede all former alliances of either ſtate with any foreign kingdom, ſo far as religion was concerned.[a]

By this league James ſecured himſelf againſt all attempts from abroad, opened a way for acquiring the confidence and affections of the Engliſh, and might entertain ſome proſpect of domeſtic tranquillity, which, while he lived on bad terms with Elizabeth, he could never expect long to enjoy. Beſides the turbulent diſpoſition and inveterate feuds of the nobility, ancient maladies of

the Scottiſh government, the ſpirit of fanaticiſm had introduced a new diſorder; ſo much the more dangerous, as religion, when corrupted by falſe opinion, is not reſtrained by any rules of morality, and is even ſcarcely to be accounted for in its operations by any principles of ordinary conduct and policy. The inſolence of the preachers, who triumphed in their dominion over the populace, had at this time reached an extreme height; and they carried their arrogance ſo far, not only againſt the king, but againſt the whole civil power, that they excommunicated the archbiſhop of St. Andrews becauſe he had been active in parliament for promoting a law which reſtrained their ſeditious ſermons:[b] nor could that prelate ſave himſelf by any expedient from this terrible ſentence, but by renouncing all pretenſions to eccleſiaſtical authority. One Gibſon ſaid, in the pulpit, that captain James Stuart (meaning the late earl of Arran) and his wife Jezebel had been deemed the chief perſecutors of the church; but it was now ſeen that the king himſelf was the great offender: and for this crime the preacher denounced againſt him the curſe which fell on Jeroboam, that he ſhould die childleſs, and be the laſt of his race.[c]

The ſecretary, Thirlſtone, perceiving the king ſo much moleſted with eccleſiaſtical affairs, and with the refractory diſpoſition of the clergy, adviſed him to leave them to their own courſes; for that in a ſhort time they would become ſo intolerable, that the people would riſe againſt them, and drive them out of the country. 'True,' replied the king: 'if I purpoſed to undo the church and religion, your counſel were good: but my intention is to maintain both; therefore cannot I ſuffer the clergy to follow ſuch a conduct as will in the end bring religion into contempt [d] and deriſion.'

CHAPTER XLII.

ELIZABETH.

ZEAL OF THE CATHOLICS....BABINGTON'S CONSPIRACY....MARY ASSENTS TO THE CONSPIRACY....THE CONSPIRATORS SEIZED AND EXECUTED....RESOLUTION TO TRY THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.... THE COMMISSIONERS PREVAIL ON HER TO SUBMIT TO THE TRIAL....THE TRIAL....SENTENCE AGAINST MARY....INTERPOSITION OF KING JAMES....REASONS FOR THE EXECUTION OF MARY ....THE EXECUTION....MARY'S CHARACTER....THE QUEEN'S AFFECTED SORROW....DRAKE DESTROYS THE SPANISH FLEET AT CADIZ....PHILIP PROJECTS THE INVASION OF ENGLAND....THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA....PREPARATIONS IN ENGLAND....THE ARMADA ARRIVES IN THE CHANNEL....DEFEATED....A PARLIAMENT....EXPEDITION AGAINST PORTUGAL....AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

THE dangers, which aroſe from the character, principles, and pretenſions, of the queen of Scots, had very early engaged Elizabeth to conſult, in her treatment of that unfortunate princeſs, the dictates of jealouſy and politics, rather than of friendſhip or generoſity: reſentment of this uſage had puſhed Mary into enterpriſes which had nearly threatened the repoſe and authority of Elizabeth: the rigour and reſtraint, thence redoubled upon the captive queen,[e] ſtill impelled her to attempt greater extremi-

ties; and, while her impatience of confinement, her revenge,[f] and her high ſpirit, concurred with religious zeal and the ſuggeſtions of deſperate bigots, ſhe was at laſt engaged in deſigns which afforded her enemies, who watched the opportunity, a pretence or reaſon for effecting her final ruin.

ZEAL OF THE CATHOLICS.

THE Engliſh ſeminary at Rheims had wrought themſelves up to a high pitch of rage and animoſity againſt the queen. The recent perſecutions from which they had eſcaped; the new rigours which they knew awaited them in the courſe of their miſſions; the liberty which for the preſent they enjoyed of declaiming againſt that princeſs; and the contagion of that religious fury which every where ſurrounded them in France: all theſe cauſes had obliterated with them every maxim of common ſenſe, and every principle of morals or humanity. Intoxicated with admiration of the divine power and infallibility of the pope, they revered his bull by which he excommunicated and depoſed the queen; and ſome of them had gone to that height of extravagance as to aſſert that that performance had been immediately dictated by the Holy Ghoſt. The aſſaſſination of heretical ſovereigns, and of that princeſs in particular, was repreſented as the moſt meritorious of all enterpriſes; and they taught that whoever periſhed in ſuch pious attempts enjoyed, without diſpute, the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom. By ſuch doctrines they inſtigated John Savage, a man of deſperate courage, who had ſerved ſome years in the Low Countries under the prince of Parma, to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and this aſſaſſin, having made a vow to perſevere in his deſign, was ſent over to England, and recommended to the confidence of the more zealous catholics.

About the ſame time John Ballard, a prieſt of that ſeminary, had returned to Paris from his miſſion in England and Scotland; and, as he had obſerved a ſpirit of mutiny and rebellion to be very prevalent among the catholic devotees in theſe countries, he had founded on that diſpoſition the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and of reſtoring by force of arms the exerciſe of the ancient religion.[g] The ſituation of affairs abroad ſeemed favourable to this enterpriſe; the pope, the Spaniard, the duke of Guiſe, concurring in intereſts, had formed a reſolution to make ſome attempt againſt England; and Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Paris, ſtrongly encouraged Ballard to hope for ſuccours from theſe princes. Charles Paget alone, a zealous catholic, and a devoted partiſan of the queen of Scots, being well acquainted with the prudence, vigour, and general popularity, of Elizabeth, always maintained that, ſo long as that princeſs was allowed to live, it was in vain to expect any ſucceſs from an enterpriſe upon England. Ballard, perſuaded of this truth, ſaw more clearly the neceſſity of executing the deſign formed at Rheims; he came over to England in the diſguiſe of a ſoldier, and aſſumed the name of captain Forteſcue; and he bent his endeavours to effect at once the project of an aſſaſſination, an inſurrection, and an invaſion.[h]

BABINGTON'S CONSPIRACY.

THE firſt perſon to whom he addreſſed himſelf was Anthony Babington, of Dethic, in the county of Derby. This young gentleman was of a good family, poſſeſſed a plentiful fortune, had diſcovered an excellent capacity, and was accompliſhed in literature beyond moſt of his years or ſtation. Being zealouſly devoted to the catholic communion, he had ſecretly made a journey to Paris ſome time before; and had fallen into intimacy with

Thomas Morgan, a bigoted fugitive from England, and with the biſhop of Glaſgow, Mary's ambaſſador at the court of France. By continually extolling the amiable accompliſhments and heroical virtues of that princeſs, they impelled the ſanguine and unguarded mind of young Babington to make ſome attempt for her ſervice; and they employed every principle of ambition, gallantry, and religious zeal, to give him a contempt of thoſe dangers which attended any enterpriſe againſt the vigilant government of Elizabeth. Finding him well diſpoſed for their purpoſe, they ſent him back to England, and ſecretly, unknown to himſelf, recommended him to the queen of Scots, as a perſon worth engaging in her ſervice. She wrote him a letter full of friendſhip and confidence; and Babington, ardent in his temper, and zealous in his principles, thought that theſe advances now bound him in honour to devote himſelf entirely to the ſervice of that unfortunate princeſs. During ſome time he had found means of conveying to her all her foreign correſpondence; but, after ſhe was put under the cuſtody of ſir Amias Paulet, and reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he experienced ſo much difficulty and danger in rendering her this ſervice, that he had deſiſted from every attempt of that nature.

When Ballard began to open his intentions to Babington, he found his zeal ſuſpended, not extinguiſhed; his former ardour revived on the mention of any enterpriſe which ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs in the cauſe of Mary and of the catholic religion. He had entertained ſentiments conformable to thoſe of Paget, and repreſented the folly of all attempts which, during the lifetime of Elizabeth, could be formed againſt the eſtabliſhed religion and government of England. Ballard, encouraged by this hint, proceeded to diſcover to him the deſign undertaken by Savage;[i] and was well pleaſed to obſerve that, inſtead of being ſhocked with the project, Babington only thought

it not ſecure enough when intruſted to one ſingle hand, and propoſed to join five others with Savage in this deſperate enterpriſe.

In proſecution of theſe views, Babington employed himſelf in increaſing the number of his aſſociates; and he ſecretly drew into the conſpiracy many catholic gentlemen, diſcontented with the preſent government. Barnwel, of a noble family in Ireland, Charnoc, a gentleman of Lancaſhire, and Abington, whoſe father had been cofferer to the houſehold, readily undertook the aſſaſſination of the queen. Charles Tilney, the heir of an ancient family, and Tichborne of Southampton, when the deſign was propoſed to them, expreſſed ſome ſcruples, which were removed by the arguments of Babington and Ballard. Savage alone refuſed during ſome time to ſhare the glory of the enterpriſe with any others;[k] he challenged the whole to himſelf; and it was with ſome difficulty he was induced to depart from this prepoſterous ambition.

The deliverance of the queen of Scots at the very ſame inſtant when Elizabeth ſhould be aſſaſſinated was requiſite for effecting the purpoſe of the conſpirators; and Babington undertook, with a party of a hundred horſe, to attack her guards while ſhe ſhould be taking the air on horſeback. In this enterpriſe he engaged Edward Windſor, brother to the lord of that name, Thomas Saliſbury, Robert Gage, John Travers, John Jones, and Henry Donne; moſt of them men of family and intereſt. The conſpirators much wanted, but could not find, any nobleman of note whom they might place at the head of the enterpriſe; but they truſted that the great events of the queen's death and Mary's deliverance would rouſe all the zealous catholics to arms; and that foreign forces, taking advantage of the general confuſion, would eaſily fix the queen of Scots on the throne, and reeſtabliſh the ancient religion.

Theſe deſperate projects had not eſcaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate. That artful miniſter had engaged Maud, a catholic prieſt, whom he retained in pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France, and had thereby got a hint of the deſigns entertained by the fugitives. Polly, another of his ſpies, had found means to inſinuate himſelf among the conſpirators in England; and, though not entirely truſted, had obtained ſome inſight into their dangerous ſecrets. But the bottom of the conſpiracy was never fully known till Gifford, a ſeminary prieſt, came over, and made a tender of his ſervices to Walſingham. By his means the diſcovery became of the utmoſt importance, and involved the fate of Mary as well as of thoſe zealous partiſans of that princeſs.

Babington and his aſſociates, having laid ſuch a plan as they thought promiſed infallible ſucceſs, were impatient to communicate the deſign to the queen of Scots, and to obtain her approbation and concurrence. For this ſervice they employed Gifford, who immediately applied to Walſingham, that the intereſt of that miniſter might forward his ſecret correſpondence with Mary. Walſingham propoſed the matter to Paulet, and deſired him to connive at Gifford's corrupting one of his ſervants: but Paulet, averſe to the introducing of ſuch a pernicious precedent into his family, deſired that they would rather think of ſome other expedient. Gifford found a brewer who ſupplied the family with ale, and bribed him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's connivance, were thruſt through a chink in the wall, and anſwers were returned by the ſame conveyance.

MARY ASSENTS TO THE CONSPIRACY.

Ballard and Babington were at firſt diffident of Gifford's fidelity; and, to make trial of him, they gave him only blank papers

made up like letters: but, finding by the anſwers that theſe had been faithfully delivered, they laid aſide all farther ſcruple, and conveyed by his hands the moſt criminal and dangerous parts of their conſpiracy. Babington informed Mary of the deſign laid for a foreign invaſion, the plan of an inſurrection at home, the ſcheme for her deliverance, and the conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating the uſurper by ſix noble gentlemen, as he termed them, all of them his private friends; who, from the zeal which they bore to the catholic cauſe, and her majeſty's ſervice, would undertake the tragical execution. Mary replied that ſhe approved highly of the deſign; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it ſhould ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a neceſſary circumſtance, before any attempts were made either for her own deliverance or an inſurrection.[1] Theſe letters, with others to Mendoza, Charles Paget, the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and ſir Francis Ingleſield, were carried by Gifford to ſecretary Walſingham; were decyphered by the art of Philips, his clerk, and copies taken of them. Walſingham employed another artifice, in order to obtain full inſight into the plot: he ſubjoined to a letter of Mary's a poſtſcript in the ſame cypher; in which he made her deſire Babington to inform her of the names of the conſpirators. The indiſcretion of Babington furniſhed Walſingham with ſtill another means of detection as well as of defence. That gentleman had cauſed a picture to be drawn, where he himſelf was repreſented ſtanding amidſt the ſix aſſaſſins; and a motto was ſubjoined, expreſſing that their common perils were the band of their confederacy. A copy of this picture was brought to Elizabeth, that ſhe might know the aſſaſſins, and guard herſelf againſt their approach to her perſon.

THE CONSPIRATORS SEIZED AND EXECUTED.

MEANWHILE Babington, anxious to enſure and haſten the foreign ſuccours, reſolved to diſpatch Ballard into France; and he procured for him, under a feigned name, a licenſe to travel. In order to remove from himſelf all ſuſpicion, he applied to Walſingham, pretended great zeal for the queen's ſervice, offered to go abroad, and profeſſed his intentions of employing the confidence which he had gained among the catholics to the detection and diſappointment of their conſpiracies. Walſingham commended his loyal purpoſes; and, promiſing his own counſel and aſſiſtance in the execution of them, ſtill fed him with hopes, and maintained a cloſe correſpondence with him. A warrant, meanwhile, was iſſued for ſeizing Ballard; and this incident, joined to the conſciouſneſs of guilt, begat in all the conſpirators the utmoſt anxiety and concern. Some adviſed that they ſhould immediately make their eſcape; others propoſed that Savage and Charnoc ſhould without delay execute their purpoſe againſt Elizabeth; and Babington, in proſecution of this ſcheme, furniſhed Savage with money, that he might buy good clothes, and thereby have more eaſy acceſs to the queen's perſon. Next day they began to apprehend that they had taken the alarm too haſtily; and Babington, having renewed his correſpondence with Walſingham, was perſuaded by that ſubtle miniſter that the ſeizure of Ballard had proceeded entirely from the uſual diligence of informers in the detection of popiſh and ſeminary prieſts. He even conſented to take lodgings ſecretly in Walſingham's houſe, that they might have more frequent conferences together, before his intended departure for France: but, obſerving that he was watched and guarded, he made his eſcape, and gave the alarm to the other conſpirators. They all took to flight, covered

themſelves with ſeveral diſguiſes, and lay concealed in woods or barns; but were ſoon diſcovered, and thrown into priſon. In their examinations they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confeſſion of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed; of whom ſeven acknowledged the crime on their trial, the reſt were convicted by evidence.

The leſſer conſpirators being diſpatched, meaſures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots, on whoſe account and with whoſe concurrence theſe attempts had been made againſt the life of the queen, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. Some of Elizabeth's counſellors were averſe to this procedure; and thought that the cloſe confinement of a woman who was become very ſickly, and who would probably put a ſpeedy period to their anxiety by her natural death, might give ſufficient ſecurity to the government without attempting a meaſure of which there ſcarcely remains any example in hiſtory. Leiceſter adviſed that Mary ſhould be ſecretly diſpatched by poiſon, and he ſent a divine to convince Walſingham of the lawfulneſs of that action: but Walſingham declared his abhorrence of it; and ſtill inſiſted, in conjunction with the majority of the counſellors, for the open trial of the queen of Scots. The ſituation of England, and of the Engliſh miniſters, had, indeed, been hitherto not a little dangerous. No ſucceſſor of the crown was declared; but the heir of blood, to whom the people in general were likely to adhere, was, by education, an enemy to the national religion; was, from multiplied provocations, an enemy to the miniſters and principal nobility; and their perſonal ſafety, as well as the ſafety of the public, ſeemed to depend alone on the queen's life, who was now ſomewhat advanced in years. No wonder, therefore, that Elizabeth's counſellors, knowing themſelves to be ſo obnoxious to the queen of Scots, endeavoured to puſh every meaſure to extremities againſt her; and were even

more anxious than the queen herſelf to prevent her from ever mounting the throne of England.

Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conſpiracy, every avenue to the queen of Scots had been ſo ſtrictly guarded, that ſhe remained in utter ignorance of the matter; and it was a great ſurpriſe to her when ſir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's orders, informed her that all her accomplices were diſcovered and arreſted. He choſe the time for giving her this intelligence when ſhe was mounted on horſeback to go a hunting; and ſhe was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's houſe to another, till ſhe was lodged in Fotheringay caſtle in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the laſt ſtage of her trial and ſufferings. Her two ſecretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arreſted; all her papers were ſeized, and ſent up to the council; above ſixty different keys to cyphers were diſcovered; there were alſo found many letters from perſons beyond ſea, and ſeveral too from Engliſh noblemen, containing expreſſions of reſpect and attachment. The queen took no notice of this latter diſcovery; but the perſons themſelves, knowing their correſpondence to be detected, thought that they had no other means of making atonement for their imprudence than by declaring themſelves thenceforth the moſt inveterate enemies of the queen of Scots.[m]

RESOLUTION TO TRY THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

It was reſolved to try Mary, not by the common ſtatute of treaſons, but by the act which had paſſed the former year with the view to this very event; and the queen, in terms of that act, appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of forty noblemen and privy

counſellors, and empowered them to examine and paſs ſentence on Mary, whom ſhe denominated the late queen of Scots, and heir to James V of Scotland. The commiſſioners came to Fotheringay caſtle, and ſent to her ſir Walter Mildmay, ſir Amias Paulet, and Edward Barker, who delivered her a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commiſſion and of the approaching trial. Mary received the intelligence without emotion or aſtoniſhment. She ſaid, however, that it ſeemed ſtrange to her that the queen ſhould command her, as a ſubject, to ſubmit to a trial and examination before ſubjects: that ſhe was an abſolute independent princeſs, and would yield to nothing which might derogate either from her royal majeſty, from the ſtate of ſovereign princes, or from the dignity and rank of her ſon: that, however oppreſſed by misfortunes, ſhe was not yet ſo much broken in ſpirit as her enemies flattered themſelves; nor would ſhe, on any account, be acceſſary to her own degradation and diſhonour: that ſhe was ignorant of the laws and ſtatutes of England; was utterly deſtitute of counſel; and could not conceive who were entitled to be called her peers, or could legally ſit as judges on her trial: that, though ſhe had lived in England for many years, ſhe had lived in captivity; and, not having received the protection of the laws, ſhe could not, merely by her involuntary reſidence in the country, be ſuppoſed to have ſubjected herſelf to their juriſdiction: that, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of her rank, ſhe was willing to give an account of her conduct before an Engliſh parliament; but could not view theſe commiſſioners in any other light than as men appointed to juſtify, by ſome colour of legal proceeding, her condemnation and execution: and that ſhe warned them to look to their conſcience and their character in trying an innocent perſon; and to reflect that theſe tranſactions would ſomewhere be ſubject to reviſal, and that the theatre of the whole world was much wider than the kingdom of England.

MARY PREVAILED ON TO SUBMIT TO TRIAL.

In return, the commiſſioners ſent a new deputation, informing her that her plea, either from her royal dignity, or from her impriſonment, could not be admitted; and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though ſhe ſhould refuſe to anſwer before them. Burleigh the treaſurer, and Bromley the chancellor, employed much reaſoning to make her ſubmit; but the perſon whoſe arguments had the chief influence was ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain. His ſpeech was to this purpoſe: 'You are accuſed, madam,' ſaid he, 'but not condemned, of having conſpired the deſtruction of our lady and queen anointed. You ſay you are a queen: but in ſuch a crime as this, and ſuch a ſituation as yours, the royal dignity itſelf, neither by the civil or canon law, nor by the law of nature or of nations, is exempt from judgment. If you be innocent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding a trial. We have been preſent at your proteſtations of innocence: but queen Elizabeth thinks otherwiſe; and is heartily ſorry for the appearances which lie againſt you. To examine, therefore, your cauſe, ſhe has appointed commiſſioners; honourable perſons, prudent and upright men, who are ready to hear you with equity, and even with favour, and will rejoice if you can clear yourſelf of the imputations which have been thrown upon you. Believe me, madam, the queen herſelf will rejoice, who affirmed to me, at my departure, that nothing which ever befell her had given her ſo much uneaſineſs as that you ſhould be ſuſpected of a concurrence in theſe criminal enterpriſes. Laying aſide, therefore, the fruitleſs claim of privilege from your royal dignity, which can now avail you nothing, truſt to the better defence of your innocence, make it appear in open trial, and leave not upon your memory

that ſtain of infamy [n] which muſt attend your obſtinate ſilence on this occaſion.'

By this artful ſpeech Mary was perſuaded to anſwer before the court; and thereby gave an appearance of legal procedure to the trial, and prevented thoſe difficulties which the commiſſioners muſt have fallen into, had ſhe perſevered in maintaining ſo ſpecious a plea as that of her ſovereign and independent character. Her conduct in this particular muſt be regarded as the more imprudent; becauſe formerly, when Elizabeth's commiſſioners pretended not to exerciſe any juriſdiction over her, and only entered into her cauſe by her own conſent and approbation, ſhe declined juſtifying herſelf when her honour, which ought to have been dearer to her than life, ſeemed abſolutely to require it.

THE TRIAL.

On her firſt appearance before the commiſſioners, Mary, either ſenſible of her imprudence, or ſtill unwilling to degrade herſelf by ſubmitting to a trial, renewed her proteſtation againſt the authority of her judges: the chancellor anſwered her by pleading the ſupreme authority of the Engliſh laws over every one who reſided in England; and the commiſſioners accommodated matters by ordering both her proteſtation and his anſwer to be recorded.

The lawyers of the crown then opened the charge againſt the queen of Scots. They proved, by intercepted letters, that ſhe had allowed cardinal Allen and others to treat her as queen of England; and that ſhe had kept a correſpondence with lord Paget and Charles Paget, in view of engaging the Spaniards to invade the kingdom. Mary ſeemed not anxious to clear herſelf from either of theſe imputations. She only ſaid that ſhe could not hinder others from uſing what ſtyle they pleaſed in writing to

her; and that ſhe might lawfully try every expedient for the recovery of her liberty.

An intercepted letter of hers to Mendoza was next produced; in which ſhe promiſed to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England, if her ſon ſhould refuſe to be converted to the catholic faith; an event, ſhe there ſaid, of which there was no expectation while he remained in the hands of his Scottiſh ſubjects.[o] Even this part of the charge ſhe took no pains to deny, or rather ſhe ſeemed to acknowledge it. She ſaid that ſhe had no kingdoms to diſpoſe of; yet was it lawful for her to give at her pleaſure what was her own, and ſhe was not accountable to any for her actions. She added, that ſhe had formerly rejected that propoſal from Spain; but now, ſince all her hopes in England were gone, ſhe was fully determined not to refuſe foreign aſſiſtance. There was alſo produced evidence to prove that Allen and Parſons were at that very time negociating by her orders at Rome the conditions of transferring her Engliſh crown to the king of Spain, and of diſinheriting her heretical ſon.[p]

It is remarkable that Mary's prejudices againſt her ſon were at this time carried ſo far, that ſhe had even entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, had appointed lord Claud Hamilton regent of Scotland, and had inſtigated her adherents to ſeize James's perſon, and deliver him into the hands of the pope, or the king of Spain; whence he was never to be delivered but on condition of his becoming catholic.[q]

The only part of the charge which Mary poſitively denied was her concurrence in the deſign of aſſaſſinating Elizabeth. This article, indeed, was the moſt heavy, and the only one that could fully juſtify the queen in proceeding to extremities againſt her. In order to prove the accuſation, there were produced the following evidence: copies taken in ſecretary Walſingham's office

of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expreſſed; the evidence of her two ſecretaries, Nau and Curle, who had confeſſed, without being put to any torture, both that ſhe received theſe letters from Babington, and that they had written the anſwers by her order; the confeſſion of Babington, that he had written the letters and received the anſwers, and the confeſſion of Ballard and Savage, that Babington had ſhewed them theſe letters of Mary written in the cypher which had been ſettled between them.

It is evident that this complication of evidence, though every circumſtance corroborates the general concluſion, reſolves itſelf finally into the teſtimony of the two ſecretaries, who alone were certainly acquainted with their miſtreſs's concurrence in Babington's conſpiracy; but who knew themſelves expoſed to all the rigours of impriſonment, torture, and death, if they refuſed to give any evidence which might be required of them. In the caſe of an ordinary criminal this proof, with all its diſadvantages, would be eſteemed legal, and even ſatisfactory, if not oppoſed by ſome other circumſtances which ſhake the credit of the witneſſes: but on the preſent trial, where the abſolute power of the proſecutor concurred with ſuch important intereſts, and ſuch a violent inclination to have the princeſs condemned, the teſtimony of two witneſſes, even though men of character, ought to be ſupported by ſtrong probabilities, in order to remove all ſuſpicion of tyranny and injuſtice. The proof againſt Mary, it muſt be confeſſed, is not deſtitute of this advantage; and it is difficult, if not impoſſible, to account for Babington's receiving an anſwer, written in her name, and in the cypher concerted between them, without allowing that the matter had been communicated to that princeſs. Such is the light in which this matter appears, even after time has diſcovered every thing which

could guide our judgment with regard to it. No wonder, therefore, that the queen of Scots, unaſſiſted by counſel, and confounded by ſo extraordinary a trial, found herſelf incapable of making a ſatisfactory defence before the commiſſioners. Her reply conſiſted chiefly in her own denial. Whatever force may be in that denial was much weakened by her poſitively affirming that ſhe never had had any correſpondence of any kind with Babington; a fact, however, of which there remains not the leaſt queſtion.[s] She aſſerted that, as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of ſecrecy and fidelity to her, their evidence againſt her ought not to be credited. She confeſſed, however, that Nau had been in the ſervice of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and had been recommended to her by the king of France as a man in whom ſhe might ſafely confide. She alſo acknowledged Curle to be a very honeſt man, but ſimple, and eaſily impoſed on by Nau. If theſe two men had received any letters, or had written any anſwers, without her knowledge, the imputation, ſhe ſaid, could never lie on her. And ſhe was the more inclined, ſhe added, to entertain this ſuſpicion againſt them, becauſe Nau had, in other inſtances, been guilty of a like temerity, and had ventured to tranſact buſineſs in her name without communicating the matter to her.[t]

The ſole circumſtance of her defence, which to us may appear to have ſome force, was her requiring that Nau and Curle ſhould be confronted with her, and her affirming that they never would to her face perſiſt in their evidence. But that demand, however equitable, was not then ſupported by law in trials of high treaſon, and was often refuſed, even in other trials where the crown was proſecutor. The clauſe contained in an act of the thirteenth of the queen was a novelty; that the ſpecies of treaſon there enumerated muſt be proved by two witneſſes confronted with the criminal. But Mary was not tried upon that

act; and the miniſters and crown lawyers of this reign were always ſure to refuſe every indulgence beyond what the ſtrict letter of the law, and the ſettled practice of the courts of juſtice, required of them. Not to mention that theſe ſecretaries were not probably at Fotheringay caſtle during the time of the trial, and could not, upon Mary's demand, be produced before the commiſſioners.[a]

There paſſed two incidents in this trial which may be worth obſerving. A letter between Mary and Babington was read, in which mention was made of the earl of Arundel and his brothers: on hearing their names ſhe broke into a ſigh; 'Alas,' ſaid ſhe, 'what has the noble houſe of the Howards ſuffered for my ſake!' She affirmed, with regard to the ſame letter, that it was eaſy to forge the hand-writing and cypher of another; ſhe was afraid that this was too familiar a practice with Walſingham, who, ſhe alſo heard, had frequently practiſed both againſt her life and her ſon's. Walſingham, who was one of the commiſſioners, roſe up. He proteſted that, in his private capacity, he had never acted any thing againſt the queen of Scots: in his public capacity, he owned that his concern for his ſovereign's ſafety had made him very diligent in ſearching out, by every expedient, all deſigns againſt her ſacred perſon or her authority. For attaining that end, he would not only make uſe of the aſſiſtance of Ballard or any other conſpirator; he would alſo reward them for betraying their companions. But, if he had tampered in any manner unbefitting his character and office, why did none of the late criminals, either at their trial or execution, accuſe him of ſuch practices? Mary endeavoured to pacify him, by ſaying that ſhe ſpoke from information; and ſhe begged him to give thenceforth no more credit to ſuch as ſlandered her than ſhe ſhould to ſuch as accuſed him. The great character, indeed, which ſir Francis Walſingham bears for probity and honour,

ſhould remove from him all ſuſpicion of ſuch baſe arts as forgery and ſubornation; arts which even the moſt corrupt miniſters, in the moſt corrupt times, would ſcruple to employ.

SENTENCE AGAINST MARY.

HAVING finiſhed the trial, the commiſſioners adjourned from Fotheringay caſtle, and met in the ſtar chamber at London; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two ſecretaries, who voluntarily, without hope or reward, vouched the authenticity of thoſe letters before produced, they pronounced ſentence of death upon the queen of Scots, and confirmed it by their ſeals and ſubſcriptions. The ſame day a declaration was publiſhed by the commiſſioners and the judges, that 'the ſentence did nowiſe derogate from the title and honour of James king of Scotland; but that he was in the ſame place, degree, and right," as if the ſentence had never been pronounced.'

The queen had now brought affairs with Mary to that ſituation which ſhe had long ardently deſired; and had found a plauſible reaſon for executing vengeance on a competitor, whom from the beginning of her reign ſhe had ever equally dreaded and hated. But ſhe was reſtrained from inſtantly gratifying her reſentment by ſeveral important conſiderations. She foreſaw the invidious colours in which this example of uncommon juriſdiction would be repreſented by the numerous partiſans of Mary, and the reproach to which ſhe herſelf might be expoſed with all foreign princes, perhaps with all poſterity. The rights of hoſpitality, of kindred, and of royal majeſty, ſeemed, in one ſingle inſtance, to be all violated; and this ſacrifice of generoſity to intereſt, of clemency to revenge, might appear equally unbecoming a ſovereign and a woman. Elizabeth, therefore, who was an excellent hypocrite, pretended the utmoſt reluctance to

proceed to the execution of the ſentence; affected the moſt tender ſympathy with her priſoner; diſplayed all her ſcruples and difficulties; rejected the ſolicitation of her courtiers and miniſters; and affirmed that, were ſhe not moved by the deepeſt concern for her people's ſafety, ſhe would not heſitate a moment in pardoning all the injuries which ſhe herſelf had received from the queen of Scots.

That the voice of her people might be more audibly heard in the demand of juſtice upon Mary, ſhe ſummoned a new parliament; and ſhe knew, both from the uſual diſpoſitions of that aſſembly and from the influence of her miniſters over them, that ſhe ſhould not want the moſt earneſt ſolicitation to conſent to that meaſure which was ſo agreeable to her ſecret inclinations. She did not open this aſſembly in perſon, but appointed for that purpoſe three commiſſioners, Bromley the chancellor, Burleigh the treaſurer, and the earl of Derby. The reaſon aſſigned for this meaſure was, that the queen, foreſeeing that the affair of the queen of Scots would be canvaſſed in parliament, found her tenderneſs and delicacy ſo much hurt by that melancholy incident, that ſhe had not the courage to be preſent while it was under deliberation, but withdrew her eyes from what ſhe could not behold without the utmoſt reluctance and uneaſineſs. She was alſo willing that by this unuſual precaution the people ſhould ſee the danger to which her perſon was hourly expoſed; and ſhould thence be more ſtrongly incited to take vengeance on the criminal, whoſe reſtleſs intrigues and bloody conſpiracies had ſo long expoſed her to the moſt imminent perils.[x]

The parliament anſwered the queen's expectations: the ſentence againſt Mary was unanimouſly ratified by both houſes; and an application was voted to obtain Elizabeth's conſent to its publication and execution.[y] She gave an anſwer ambiguous, embarraſſed; full of real artifice and ſeeming irreſolution. She

mentioned the extreme danger to which her life was continually expoſed; ſhe declared her willingneſs to die, did ſhe not foreſee the great calamities which would thence fall upon the nation; ſhe made profeſſions of the greateſt tenderneſs to her people; ſhe diſplayed the clemency of her temper, and expreſſed her violent reluctance to execute the ſentence againſt her unhappy kinſwoman; ſhe affirmed that the late law, by which that princeſs was tried, ſo far from being made to enſnare her, was only intended to give her warning beforehand not to engage in ſuch attempts as might expoſe her to the penalties with which ſhe was thus openly menaced; and ſhe begged them to think once again whether it were poſſible to find any expedient, beſides the death of the queen of Scots, for ſecuring the public tranquillity.[z] The parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the affair again under conſideration; but could find no other poſſible expedient. They reiterated their ſolicitations and entreaties and arguments: they even remonſtrated that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her ſubjects and children: and they affirmed that it were injuſtice to deny execution of the law to any individual; much more to the whole body of the people, now unanimouſly and earneſtly ſuing for this pledge of her parental care and tenderneſs. This ſecond addreſs ſet the pretended doubts and ſcruples of Elizabeth anew in agitation: ſhe complained of her own unfortunate ſituation; expreſſed her uneaſineſs from their importunity; renewed the profeſſions of affection to her people; and diſmiſſed the committee of parliament in an uncertainty what, after all this deliberation, might be her final reſolution.[a]

But, though the queen affected reluctance to execute the ſentence againſt Mary, ſhe complied with the requeſt of parliament in publiſhing it by proclamation; and this act ſeemed to be attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people.

Lord Buckhurſt, and Beale clerk of the council, were ſent to the queen of Scots, and notified to her the ſentence pronounced againſt her, its ratification by parliament, and the earneſt applications made for its execution by that aſſembly, who thought that their religion could never, while ſhe was alive, attain a full ſettlement and ſecurity. Mary was nowiſe diſmayed at this intelligence: on the contrary, ſhe joyfully laid hold of the laſt circumſtance mentioned to her; and inſiſted that, ſince her death was demanded by the proteſtants for the eſtabliſhment of their faith, ſhe was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. She added, that the Engliſh had often imbrued their hands in the blood of their ſovereigns; no wonder they exerciſed cruelty againſt her, who derived her deſcent from theſe monarchs.[b] Paulet her keeper received orders to take down her canopy, and to ſerve her no longer with the reſpect due to ſovereign princes. He told her that ſhe was now to be conſidered as a dead perſon, and incapable of any dignity.[c] This harſh treatment produced not in her any ſeeming emotion. She only replied that ſhe received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power was ever able to bereave her of it.

The queen of Scots wrote her laſt letter to Elizabeth; full of dignity, without departing from that ſpirit of meekneſs and of charity which appeared ſuitable to this concluding ſcene of her unfortunate life. She preferred no petition for averting the fatal ſentence: on the contrary, ſhe expreſſed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a ſpeedy period her ſad and lamentable pilgrimage. She requeſted ſome favours of Elizabeth, and entreated her that ſhe might be beholden for them to her own goodneſs alone, without making applications to thoſe miniſters who had diſcovered ſuch an extreme malignity againſt her perſon and her religion. She deſired that, after her enemies ſhould be ſatiated

with her innocent blood, her body, which it was determined ſhould never enjoy reſt while her ſoul was united to it, might be conſigned to her ſervants, and be conveyed by them into France, there to repoſe in a catholic land, with the ſacred reliques of her mother. In Scotland, ſhe ſaid, the ſepulchres of her anceſtors were violated, and the churches either demoliſhed or profaned; and in England, where ſhe might be interred among the ancient kings, her own and Elizabeth's progenitors, ſhe could entertain no hopes of being accompanied to the grave with thoſe rites and ceremonies which her religion required. She requeſted that no one might have the power of inflicting a private death upon her, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but that her execution ſhould be public, and attended by her ancient ſervants, who might bear teſtimony of her perſeverance in the faith, and of her ſubmiſſion to the will of Heaven. She begged that theſe ſervants might afterwards be allowed to depart whitherſoever they pleaſed, and might enjoy thoſe legacies which ſhe ſhould bequeath them. And ſhe conjured her to grant theſe favours by their near kindred; by the ſoul and memory of Henry VII, the common anceſtor of both; and by the royal dignity, of which they equally participated.[a] Elizabeth made no anſwer to this letter; being unwilling to give Mary a refuſal in her preſent ſituation, and foreſeeing inconveniences from granting ſome of her requeſts.

While the queen of Scots thus prepared herſelf to meet her fate, great efforts were made by foreign powers with Elizabeth to prevent the execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt her. Beſides employing L'Aubeſpine, the French reſident at London, a creature of the houſe of Guiſe, Henry ſent over Bellievre, with a profeſſed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. The duke of Guiſe and the league at that time threatened very nearly the king's authority; and Elizabeth knew that, though that mo-

narch might, from decency and policy, think himſelf obliged to interpoſe publicly in behalf of the queen of Scots, he could not ſecretly be much diſpleaſed with the death of a princeſs on whoſe fortune and elevation his mortal enemies had always founded ſo many daring and ambitious projects.[e] It is even pretended that Bellievre had orders, after making public and vehement remonſtrances againſt the execution of Mary, to exhort privately the queen, in his maſter's name, not to defer an act of juſtice, ſo neceſſary for their common ſafety.[f] But, whether the French king's interceſſion were ſincere or not, it had no weight with the queen; and ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her former reſolution.

INTERPOSITION OF KING JAMES.

THE interpoſition of the young king of Scots, though not able to change Elizabeth's determination, ſeemed, on every account, to merit more regard. As ſoon as James heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, he ſent ſir William Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to London; and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonſtrated in very ſevere terms againſt the indignity of the procedure. He ſaid that he was aſtoniſhed to hear of the preſumption of Engliſh noblemen and counſellors, who had dared to ſit in judgment and paſs ſentence upon a queen of Scotland, deſcended from the blood-royal of England; but he was ſtill more aſtoniſhed to hear that thoughts were ſeriouſly entertained of putting that ſentence in execution: that he entreated Elizabeth to reflect on the diſhonour which ſhe would draw on her name by imbruing her hands in the blood of her near kinſwoman, a perſon of the ſame royal dignity, and of the ſame ſex, with herſelf: that in this unparalleled attempt ſhe offered an affront to all diadems, and even to her own; and,

by reducing ſovereigns to a level with other men, taught the people to neglect all duty towards thoſe whom Providence had appointed to rule over them: that, for his part, he muſt deem the injury an inſult ſo enormous as to be incapable of all atonement; nor was it poſſible for him thenceforward to remain in any terms of correſpondence with a perſon who, without any pretence of legal authority, had deliberately inflicted an ignominious death upon his parent: and that, even if the ſentiments of nature and duty did not inſpire him with this purpoſe of vengeance, his honour required it of him; nor could he ever acquit himſelf in the eyes of the world, if he did not uſe every effort, and endure every hazard, to revenge ſo great an indignity.[g]

Soon after James ſent the maſter of Gray and ſir Robert Melvil to enforce the remonſtrances of Keith, and to employ with the queen every expedient of argument and menaces. Elizabeth was at firſt offended with the ſharpneſs of theſe applications; and ſhe replied in a like ſtrain to the Scottiſh ambaſſadors. When ſhe afterwards reflected that this earneſtneſs was no more than what duty required of James, ſhe was pacified; but ſtill retained her reſolution of executing the ſentence againſt Mary.[h] It is believed that the maſter of Gray, gained by the enemies of that princeſs, ſecretly gave his advice not to ſpare her, and undertook, in all events, to pacify his maſter.

The queen alſo, from many conſiderations, was induced to pay ſmall attention to the applications of James, and to diſregard all the efforts which he could employ in behalf of his mother. She was well acquainted with his character and intereſts, the factions which prevailed among his people, and the inveterate hatred which the zealous proteſtants, particularly the preachers, bore to the queen of Scots. The preſent incidents ſet theſe diſpoſitions of the clergy in a full light. James, obſerving the fixed

purpoſe of Elizabeth, ordered prayers to be offered up for Mary in all the churches; and, knowing the captious humour of the eccleſiaſtics, he took care that the form of the petition ſhould be moſt cautious, as well as humane and charitable: 'That it might pleaſe God to illuminate Mary with the light of his truth, and ſave her from the apparent danger with which ſhe was threatened.' But, excepting the king's own chaplains, and one clergyman more, all the preachers refuſed to pollute their churches by prayers for a papiſt, and would not ſo much as prefer a petition for her converſion. James, unwilling or unable to puniſh this diſobedience, and deſirous of giving the preachers an opportunity of amending their fault, appointed a new day when prayers ſhould be ſaid for his mother; and, that he might at leaſt ſecure himſelf from any inſult in his own preſence, he deſired the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's to officiate before him. In order to diſappoint this purpoſe, the clergy inſtigated one Couper, a young man who had not yet received holy orders, to take poſſeſſion of the pulpit early in the morning, and to exclude the prelate. When the king came to church, and ſaw the pulpit occupied by Couper, he called to him from his ſeat, and told him that the place was deſtined for another; yet, ſince he was there, if he would obey the charge given, and remember the queen in his prayers, he might proceed to divine ſervice. The preacher replied that he would do as the Spirit of God ſhould direct him. This anſwer ſufficiently inſtructed James in his purpoſe; and he commanded him to leave the pulpit. As Couper ſeemed not diſpoſed to obey, the captain of the guard went to pull him from his place; upon which the young man cried aloud, that this day would be a witneſs againſt the king in the great day of the Lord; and he denounced a wo upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for permitting him to be treated in that manner.[i] The audience at firſt appeared deſirous to take part with

him; but the ſermon of the prelate brought them over to a more dutiful and more humane diſpoſition.

REASONS FOR MARY'S EXECUTION.

ELIZABETH, when ſolicited, either by James or by foreign princes, to pardon the queen of Scots, ſeemed always determined to execute the ſentence againſt her: but, when her miniſters urged her to interpoſe no more delays, her ſcruples and her heſitation returned; her humanity could not allow her to embrace ſuch violent and ſanguinary meaſures; and ſhe was touched with compaſſion for the misfortunes, and with reſpect for the dignity, of the unhappy priſoner. The courtiers, ſenſible that they could do nothing more acceptable to her than to employ perſuaſion on this head, failed not to enforce every motive for the puniſhment of Mary, and to combat all the objections urged againſt this act of juſtice. They ſaid that the treatment of that princeſs in England had been, on her firſt reception, ſuch as found reaſon and policy required; and, if ſhe had been governed by principles of equity, ſhe would not have refuſed willingly to acquieſce in it: that the obvious inconveniences either of allowing her to retire into France, or of reſtoring her by force to her throne, in oppoſition to the reformers and the Engliſh party in Scotland, had obliged the queen to detain her in England till time ſhould offer ſome opportunity of ſerving her, without danger to the kingdom, or to the proteſtant religion: that her uſage there had been ſuch as became her rank; her own ſervants in conſiderable numbers had been permitted to attend her; exerciſe had been allowed her for health, and all acceſs of company for amuſement; and theſe indulgences would in time have been carried farther, if by her ſubſequent conduct ſhe had appeared worthy of them: that, after ſhe had inſtigated the rebellion of Northum-

berland, the conſpiracy of Norfolk, the bull of excommunication of pope Pius, an invaſion from Flanders; after ſhe had ſeduced the queen's friends, and incited every enemy, foreign and domeſtic, againſt her; it became neceſſary to treat her as a moſt dangerous rival, and to render her confinement more ſtrict and rigorous: that the queen, notwithſtanding theſe repeated provocations, had, in her favour, rejected the importunity of her parliaments, and the advice of her ſageſt miniſters;[k] and was ſtill, in hopes of her amendment, determined to delay coming to the laſt extremities againſt her: that Mary, even in this forlorn condition, retained ſo high and unconquerable a ſpirit, that ſhe acted as competitor to the crown, and allowed her partiſans every where, and in their very letters, addreſſed to herſelf, to treat her as queen of England: that ſhe had carried her animoſity ſo far as to encourage, in repeated inſtances, the atrocious deſign of aſſaſſinating the queen; and this crime was unqueſtionably proved upon her by her own letters, by the evidence of her ſecretaries, and by the dying confeſſion of her accomplices: that ſhe was but a titular queen, and at preſent poſſeſſed no where any right of ſovereignty; much leſs in England, where the moment ſhe ſet foot in the kingdom ſhe voluntarily became ſubject to the laws, and to Elizabeth, the only true ſovereign: that, even allowing her to be ſtill the queen's equal in rank and dignity, ſelf-defence was permitted by a law of nature, which could never be abrogated; and every one, ſtill more a queen, had ſufficient juriſdiction over an enemy, who by open violence, and ſtill more by ſecret treachery, threatened the utmoſt danger againſt her life: that the general combination of the catholics to exterminate the proteſtants was no longer a ſecret; and, as the ſole reſource of the latter perſecuted ſect lay in Elizabeth, ſo the chief hope which the former entertained of final ſucceſs conſiſted in the perſon and in the title of the queen of Scots:

that this very circumſtance brought matters to extremity between theſe princeſſes; and, rendering the life of one the death of the other, pointed out to Elizabeth the path, which either regard to ſelf-preſervation, or to the happineſs of her people, ſhould direct her to purſue: and that neceſſity, more powerful than policy, thus demanded of the queen that reſolution which equity would authorize, and which duty preſcribed.'

When Elizabeth thought that as many importunities had been uſed, and as much delay interpoſed, as decency required, ſhe at laſt determined to carry the ſentence into execution: but even in this final reſolution ſhe could not proceed without diſplaying a new ſcene of duplicity and artifice. In order to alarm the vulgar, rumours were previouſly diſperſed that the Spaniſh fleet was arrived in Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the duke of Guiſe was landed in Suſſex with a ſtrong army; that the queen of Scots was eſcaped from priſon, and had raiſed an army; that the northern counties had begun an inſurrection; that there was a new conſpiracy on foot to aſſaſſinate the queen, and ſet the city of London on fire; nay, that the queen was actually aſſaſſinated.[m] An attempt of this nature was even imputed to L'Aubeſpine, the French ambaſſador; and that miniſter was obliged to leave the kingdom. The queen, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, was obſerved to ſit much alone, penſive and ſilent; and ſometimes to mutter to herſelf half ſentences, importing the difficulty and diſtreſs to which ſhe was reduced.[n] She at laſt called Daviſon, a man of parts, but eaſy to be impoſed on, and who had lately for that very reaſon been made ſecretary, and ſhe ordered him privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which ſhe afterwards ſaid ſhe intended to keep by her, in caſe any attempt ſhould be made for the deliverance of that princeſs. She ſigned the warrant; and then commanded Davi-

ſon to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great ſeal appended to it. Next day ſhe ſent Killigrew to Daviſon, enjoining him to forbear ſome time executing her former orders; and, when Daviſon came and told her that the warrant had already paſſed the great ſeal, ſhe ſeemed to be ſomewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Daviſon, being in a perplexity, acquainted the council with this whole tranſaction; and they endeavoured to perſuade him to ſend off Beale with the warrant: if the queen ſhould be diſpleaſed, they promiſed to juſtify his conduct, and to take on themſelves the whole blame of this meaſure.[o] The ſecretary, not ſufficiently aware of their intention, complied with the advice; and the warrant was diſpatched to the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, and ſome others, ordering them to ſee the ſentence executed upon the queen of Scots.

THE EXECUTION. 1587.

THE two earls came to Fotheringay caſtle, and, being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commiſſion, and deſired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She ſeemed nowiſe terrified, though ſomewhat ſurpriſed, with the intelligence. She ſaid, with a cheerful, and even a ſmiling countenance, that ſhe did not think the queen, her ſiſter, would have conſented to her death, or have executed the ſentence againſt a perſon not ſubject to the laws and juriſdiction of England. 'But, as ſuch is her will,' ſaid ſhe, 'death, which puts an end to all my miſeries, ſhall be to me moſt welcome; nor can I eſteem that ſoul worthy the felicities of heaven, which cannot ſupport the body under the horrors of the laſt paſſage[p] to theſe bliſsful manſions.' She then requeſted the two noblemen that they would permit ſome of her ſervants, and particularly her confeſſor, to attend her: but they told her that compliance with

this laſt demand was contrary to their conſcience,[q] and that Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, a man of great learning, ſhould be preſent to inſtruct her in the principles of true religion. Her refuſal to have any conference with this divine inflamed the zeal of the earl of Kent; and he bluntly told her that her death would be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, her life would have been the death of it. Mention being made of Babington, ſhe conſtantly denied his conſpiracy to have been at all known to her; and the revenge of her wrongs ſhe reſigned into the hands of the Almighty.

When the earls had left her ſhe ordered ſupper to be haſtened, that ſhe might have the more leiſure after it to finiſh the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her paſſage to another. It was neceſſary for her, ſhe ſaid, to take ſome ſuſtenance, leſt a failure of her bodily ſtrength ſhould depreſs her ſpirits on the morrow, and leſt her behaviour ſhould thereby betray a weakneſs unworthy of herſelf.[r] She ſupped ſparingly, as her manner uſually was; and her wonted cheerfulneſs did not even deſert her on this occaſion. She comforted her ſervants under the affliction which overwhelmed them, and which was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Turning to Burgoin, her phyſician, ſhe aſked him whether he did not remark the great and invincible force of truth. 'They pretend,' ſaid ſhe, 'that I muſt die becauſe I conſpired againſt their queen's life: but the earl of Kent avowed that there was no other cauſe of my death than the apprehenſions which, if I ſhould live, they entertain for their religion. My conſtancy in the faith is my real crime; the reſt is only a colour, invented by intereſted and deſigning men.' Towards the end of ſupper ſhe called in all her ſervants, and drank to them: they pledged her, in order, on their knees; and craved her pardon for any paſt neglect of their duty: ſhe deigned, in return, to aſk their

pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effuſion of tears attended this laſt ſolemn farewell, and exchange of mutual forgiveneſs.[s]

Mary's care of her ſervants was the ſole remaining affair which employed her concern. She peruſed her will, in which ſhe had provided for them by legacies: ſhe ordered the inventory of her goods, clothes, and jewels, to be brought her; and ſhe wrote down the names of thoſe to whom ſhe bequeathed each particular: to ſome ſhe diſtributed money with her own hands; and ſhe adapted the recompenſe to their different degrees of rank and merit. She wrote alſo letters of recommendation for her ſervants to the French king, and to her couſin the duke of Guiſe, whom ſhe made the chief executor of her teſtament. At her wonted time ſhe went to bed; ſlept ſome hours; and, then riſing, ſpent the reſt of the night in prayer. Having foreſeen the difficulty of exerciſing the rites of her religion, ſhe had had the precaution to obtain a conſecrated hoſt from the hands of pope Pius; and ſhe had reſerved the uſe of it for this laſt period of her life. By this expedient ſhe ſupplied, as much as ſhe could, the want of a prieſt and confeſſor, who was refuſed her.[t]

Towards the morning ſhe dreſſed herſelf in a rich habit of ſilk and velvet, the only one which ſhe had reſerved to herſelf. She told her maids that ſhe would willingly have left them this dreſs rather than the plain garb which ſhe wore the day before; but it was neceſſary for her to appear at the enſuing ſolemnity in a decent habit.

Thomas Andrews, ſheriff of the county, entered the room, and informed her that the hour was come, and that he muſt attend her to the place of execution. She replied that ſhe was ready; and, bidding adieu to her ſervants, ſhe leaned on two of ſir Amias Paulet's guards, becauſe of an infirmity in her limbs; and ſhe followed the ſheriff with a ſerene and compoſed countenance. In

paſſing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, ſhe was met by the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, ſir Amias Paulet, ſir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of diſtinction. Here ſhe alſo found ſir Andrew Melvil, her ſteward, who flung himſelf on his knees before her; and, wringing his hands, cried aloud, 'Ah, madam! unhappy me! what man was ever before the meſſenger of ſuch heavy tidings as I muſt carry, when I ſhall return to my native country, and ſhall report that I ſaw my gracious queen and miſtreſs beheaded in England?' His tears prevented farther ſpeech; and Mary too felt herſelf moved more from ſympathy than affliction. 'Ceaſe, my good ſervant,' ſaid ſhe, 'ceaſe to lament: thou haſt cauſe rather to rejoice than to mourn; for now ſhalt thou ſee the troubles of Mary Stuart receive their long-expected period and completion. Know,' continued ſhe, 'good ſervant, that all the world at beſt is vanity, and ſubject ſtill to more ſorrow than a whole ocean of tears is able to bewail. But I pray thee carry this meſſage from me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and unalterable in my affections to Scotland and to France. Heaven forgive them that have long deſired my end, and have thirſted for my blood as the hart panteth after the water brooks. O God,' added ſhe, 'thou that art the Author of truth, and truth itſelf, thou knoweſt the inmoſt receſſes of my heart; thou knoweſt that I was ever deſirous to preſerve an entire union between Scotland and England, and to obviate the ſource of all theſe fatal diſcords. But recommend me, Melvil, to my ſon, and tell him that, notwithſtanding all my diſtreſſes, I have done nothing prejudicial to the ſtate and kingdom of Scotland.' After theſe words, reclining herſelf, with weeping eyes, and face bedewed with tears, ſhe kiſſed him. 'And ſo,' ſaid ſhe, 'good Melvil, farewell. Once again, farewell, good Melvil; and grant the aſſiſtance of thy prayers [n] to thy queen and miſtreſs.'

She next turned to the noblemen who attended her, and made a petition in behalf of her ſervants, that they might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the preſents which ſhe had made them, and be ſent ſafely into their own country. Having received a favourable anſwer, ſhe preferred another requeſt, that they might be permitted to attend her at her death: 'in order,' ſaid ſhe, 'that their eyes may behold, and their hearts bear witneſs, how patiently their queen and miſtreſs can ſubmit to her execution, and how conſtantly ſhe perſeveres in her attachment to her religion.' The earl of Kent oppoſed this deſire, and told her that they would be apt, by their ſpeeches and cries, to diſturb both herſelf and the ſpectators. He was alſo apprehenſive leſt they ſhould practiſe ſome ſuperſtition not meet for him to ſuffer; ſuch as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood: for that was the inſtance which he made uſe of. 'My lord,' ſaid the queen of Scots, 'I will give my word (although it be but dead) that they ſhall not incur any blame in any of the actions which you have named. But alas! poor ſouls! it would be a great conſolation to them to bid their miſtreſs farewell. And I hope,' added ſhe, 'that your miſtreſs, being a maiden queen, would vouchſafe, in regard of womanhood, that I ſhould have ſome of my own people about me at my death. I know that her majeſty hath not given you any ſuch ſtrict command but that you might grant me a requeſt of far greater courteſy, even though I were a woman of inferior rank to that which I bear.' Finding that the earl of Kent perſiſted ſtill in his refuſal, her mind, which had fortified itſelf againſt the terrors of death, was affected by this indignity, for which ſhe was not prepared. 'I am couſin to your queen,' cried ſhe, 'and deſcended from the blood royal of Henry VII, and a married queen of France, and an anointed queen of Scotland.' The commiſſioners, perceiving how invidious their obſtinacy would appear, conferred a little together,

and agreed that ſhe might carry a few of her ſervants along with her. She made choice of four men and two maid-ſervants for that purpoſe.

She then paſſed into another hall, where was erected the ſcaffold, covered with black; and ſhe ſaw, with an undiſmayed countenance, the executioners, and all the preparations of death. The room was crowded with ſpectators; and no one was ſo ſteeled againſt all ſentiments of humanity as not to be moved when he reflected on her royal dignity, conſidered the ſurpriſing train of her misfortunes, beheld her mild but inflexible conſtancy, recalled her amiable accompliſhments, or ſurveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years, and yet more by her afflictions, ſtill diſcovered themſelves in this fatal moment. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony ſhe was ſilent, but ſhewed in her behaviour an indifference and unconcern, as if the buſineſs had nowiſe regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office the dean of Peterborough ſtepped forth; and, though the queen frequently told him that he needed not concern himſelf about her, that ſhe was ſettled in the ancient catholic and Roman religion, and that ſhe meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith, he ſtill thought it his duty to perſiſt in his lectures and exhortations, and to endeavour her converſion. The terms which he employed were, under colour of pious inſtructions, cruel inſults on her unfortunate ſituation; and, beſides their own abſurdity, may be regarded as the moſt mortifying indignities to which ſhe had ever yet been expoſed. He told her that the queen of England had on this occaſion ſhewn a tender care of her; and notwithſtanding the puniſhment juſtly to be inflicted on her for her manifold treſpaſſes, was determined to uſe every expedient for ſaving her ſoul from that deſtruction with which it was ſo nearly threatened: that ſhe was now ſtanding upon the brink of eter-

nity, and had no other means of eſcaping endleſs perdition than by repenting her former wickedneſs, by juſtifying the ſentence pronounced againſt her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Chriſt Jeſus: that the ſcriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Chriſt the only means of ſalvation; and, if ſhe truſted in the inventions or devices of men, ſhe muſt expect in an inſtant to fall into utter darkneſs, into a place where ſhall be weeping, howling, and gnaſhing of teeth: that the hand of death was upon her, the ax was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great Judge of heaven was erected, the book of her life was ſpread wide, and the particular ſentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her: and that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice, either to riſe to the reſurrection of life, and hear that joyful ſalutation, 'Come, ye bleſſed of my Father;' or to ſhare the reſurrection of condemnation, replete with ſorrow and anguiſh; and to ſuffer that dreadful denunciation, 'Go, ye curſed,[x] into everlaſting fire.'

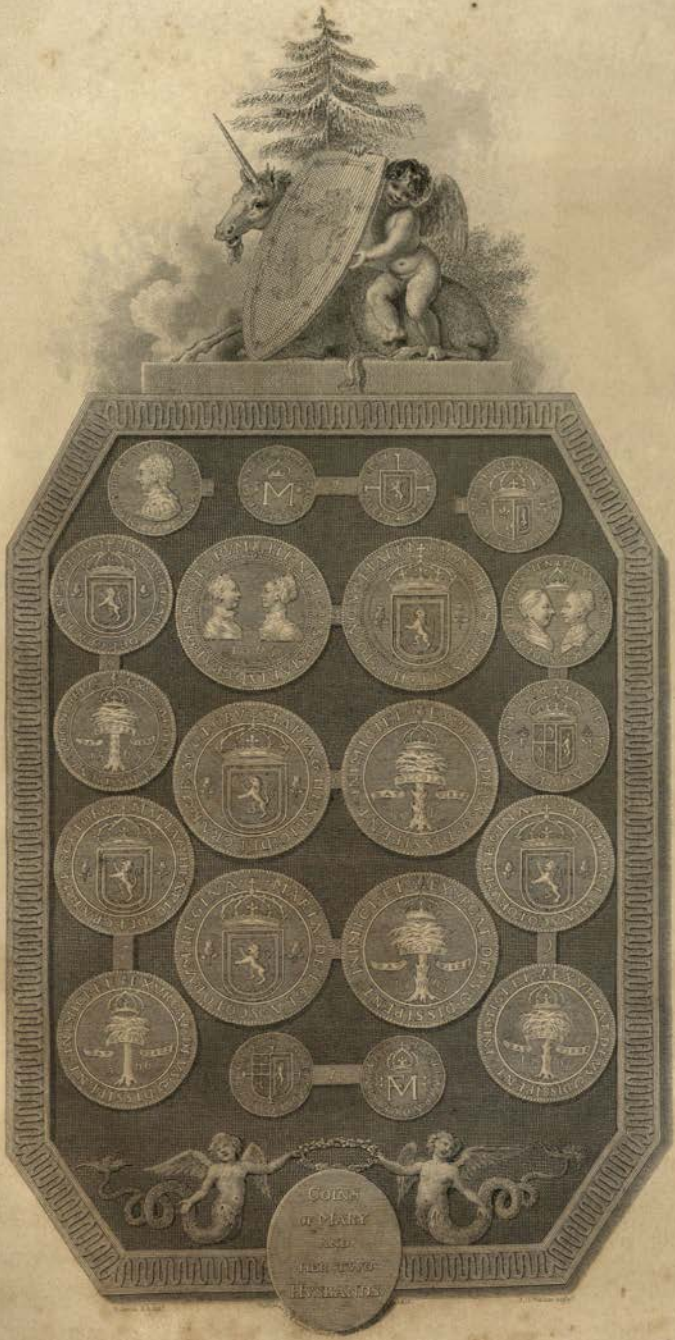
During this diſcourſe Mary could not ſometimes forbear betraying her impatience, by interrupting the preacher; and the dean, finding that ſhe had profited nothing by his lecture, at laſt bade her change her opinion, repent her of her former wickedneſs, and ſettle her faith upon this ground, that only in Chriſt Jeſus could ſhe hope to be ſaved. She anſwered, again and again, with great earneſtneſs, 'Trouble not yourſelf any more about the matter; for I was born in this religion; I have lived in this religion; and in this religion I am reſolved to die.' Even the two earls perceived that it was fruitleſs to haraſs her any farther with theological diſputes; and they ordered the dean to deſiſt from his unſeaſonable exhortations, and to pray for her converſion. During the dean's prayer ſhe employed herſelf in private devotion from the office of the virgin; and, after he had

finiſhed, ſhe pronounced aloud ſome petitions in Engliſh for the afflicted church, for an end of her own troubles, for her ſon, and for queen Elizabeth; and prayed God that that princeſs might long proſper, and be employed in his ſervice. The earl of Kent, obſerving that in her devotions ſhe made frequent uſe of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her for her attachment to that popiſh trumpery, as he termed it; and he exhorted her to have Chriſt in her heart, not in her hand.[y] She replied, with preſence of mind, that it was difficult to hold ſuch an object in her hand without feeling her heart touched with ſome compunction.[z]

She now began, with the aid of her two women, to diſrobe herſelf; and the executioner alſo lent his hand to aſſiſt them. She ſmiled, and ſaid that ſhe was not accuſtomed to undreſs herſelf before ſo large a company, nor to be ſerved by ſuch valets. Her ſervants ſeeing her in this condition, ready to lay her head upon the block, burſt into tears and lamentations: ſhe turned about to them; put her finger upon her lips, as a ſign of impoſing ſilence upon them;[a] and, having given them her bleſſing, deſired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom ſhe had appointed for that purpoſe, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; ſhe laid herſelf down without any ſign of fear or trepidation; and her head was ſevered from her body at two ſtrokes by the executioner. He inſtantly held it up to the ſpectators, ſtreaming with blood, and agitated with the convulſions of death. The dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, 'So periſh all queen Elizabeth's enemies!' The earl of Kent alone replied, 'Amen!' The attention of all the other ſpectators was fixed on the melancholy ſcene before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave place to preſent pity and admiration of the expiring princeſs.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

MARY


COINS
of MARY
AND
HER TWO
HUSBANDS

MARY'S CHARACTER.

Thus periſhed, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary queen of Scots; a woman of great accompliſhments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired; but unfortunate in her life, and during one period very unhappy in her conduct. The beauties of her perſon, and graces of her air, combined to make her the moſt amiable of women; and the charms of her addreſs and converſation aided the impreſſion which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulneſs and ſociety; of a lofty ſpirit, conſtant, and even vehement, in her purpoſe, yet polite, and gentle, and affable, in her demeanour; ſhe ſeemed to partake only ſo much of the male virtues as to render her eſtimable, without relinquiſhing thoſe ſoft graces which compoſe the proper ornament of her ſex. In order to form a juſt idea of her character, we muſt ſet aſide one part of her conduct, while ſhe abandoned herſelf to the guidance of a profligate man; and muſt conſider theſe faults, whether we admit them to be imprudences or crimes, as the reſult of an inexplicable, though not uncommon, inconſtancy in the human mind, of the frailty of our nature, of the violence of paſſion, and of the influence which ſituations, and ſometimes momentary incidents, have on perſons whoſe principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her huſband, ſeduced by the treacherous counſels of one in whom ſhe repoſed confidence, tranſported by the violence of her own temper, which never lay ſufficiently under the guidance of diſcretion, ſhe was betrayed into actions which may with ſome difficulty be accounted for, but which admit of no apology, nor even of alleviation. An enumeration

of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct muſt in ſome parts wear the aſpect of ſevere ſatire and invective.

Her numerous misfortunes, the ſolitude of her long and tedious captivity, and the perſecutions to which ſhe had been expoſed on account of her religion, had wrought her up to a degree of bigotry during her later years; and ſuch were the prevalent ſpirit and principles of the age, that it is the leſs wonder if her zeal, her reſentment, and her intereſt uniting, induced her to give conſent to a deſign which conſpirators, actuated only by the firſt of theſe motives, had formed againſt the life of Elizabeth.

THE QUEEN'S AFFECTED SORROW.

When the queen was informed of Mary's execution ſhe affected the utmoſt ſurpriſe and indignation. Her countenance changed; her ſpeech faultered and failed her; for a long time her ſorrow was ſo deep that ſhe could not expreſs it, but ſtood fixed like a ſtatue in ſilence and mute aſtoniſhment. After her grief was able to find vent, it burſt out into loud wailings and lamentations; ſhe put herſelf in deep mourning for this deplorable event; and ſhe was ſeen perpetually bathed in tears, and ſurrounded only by her maids and women. None of her miniſters or counſellors dared to approach her; or, if any had ſuch temerity, ſhe chaſed them from her with the moſt violent expreſſions of rage and reſentment: they had all of them been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear ſiſter and kinſwoman, contrary to her fixed purpoſe,[b] of which they were ſufficiently appriſed and acquainted.

No ſooner was her ſorrow ſo much abated as to leave room for reflection, than ſhe wrote a letter of apology to the king of

Scots, and ſent it by ſir Robert Cary, ſon of lord Hunſdon. She then told him that ſhe wiſhed he knew, but not felt, the unutterable grief which ſhe experienced on account of that lamentable accident which, without her knowledge, much leſs concurrence, had happened in England: that, as her pen trembled when ſhe attempted to write it, ſhe found herſelf obliged to commit the relation of it to the meſſenger, her kinſman, who would likewiſe inform his majeſty of every circumſtance attending this diſmal and unlooked-for misfortune: that ſhe appealed to the ſupreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; and was alſo ſo happy, amidſt her other afflictions, as to find that many perſons in her court could bear witneſs to her veracity in this proteſtation: that ſhe abhorred diſſimulation; deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than a ſincere and open conduct: and could never ſurely be eſteemed ſo baſe and poor-ſpirited as that, if ſhe had really given orders for this fatal execution, ſhe could on any conſideration be induced to deny them: that, though ſenſible of the juſtice of the ſentence pronounced againſt the unhappy priſoner, ſhe determined, from clemency, never to carry it into execution; and could not but reſent the temerity of thoſe who on this occaſion had diſappointed her intention: and that, as no one loved him more dearly than herſelf, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare, ſhe hoped that he would conſider every one as his enemy who endeavoured, on account of the preſent incident, to excite any animoſity between them.[c]

In order the better to appeaſe James, ſhe committed Daviſon to priſon, and ordered him to be tried in the ſtar chamber for his miſdemeanour. The ſecretary was confounded; and, being ſenſible of the danger which muſt attend his entering into a conteſt with the queen, he expreſſed penitence for his error, and ſubmitted very patiently to be railed at by thoſe very counſel-

lors whoſe perſuaſion had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promiſed to countenance and protect him. He was condemned to impriſonment during the queen's pleaſure, and to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds. He remained a long time in cuſtody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorouſly levied upon him. All the favour which he could obtain from the queen was ſending him ſmall ſupplies from time to time to keep him from periſhing in neceſſity.[d] He privately wrote an apology to his friend Walſingham, which contains many curious particulars. The French and Scotch ambaſſadors, he ſaid, had been remonſtrating with the queen in Mary's behalf; and immediately after their departure ſhe commanded him, of her own accord, to deliver her the warrant for the execution of that princeſs. She ſigned it readily, and ordered it to be ſealed with the great ſeal of England. She appeared in ſuch good humour on the occaſion, that ſhe ſaid to him in a jocular manner, 'Go tell all this to Walſingham, who is now ſick: though I fear he will die of ſorrow when he hears of it.' She added, that, though ſhe had ſo long delayed the execution, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to be actuated by malice or cruelty, ſhe was all along ſenſible of the neceſſity of it. In the ſame converſation ſhe blamed Drury and Paulet that they had not before eaſed her of this trouble; and ſhe expreſſed her deſire that Walſingham would bring them to compliance in that particular. She was ſo bent on this purpoſe, that ſome time after ſhe aſked Daviſon whether any letter had come from Paulet with regard to the ſervice expected of him? Daviſon ſhewed her Paulet's letter, in which that gentleman poſitively refuſed to act any thing inconſiſtent with the principles of honour and juſtice. The queen fell into a paſſion; and accuſed Paulet as well as Drury of perjury, becauſe, having taken the oath of aſſociation, in which they had bound themſelves to avenge her wrongs, they had yet refuſed

to lend their hand on this occaſion. 'But others,' ſhe ſaid, 'will be found leſs ſcrupulous.' Daviſon adds, that nothing but the conſent and exhortations of the whole council could have engaged him to ſend off the warrant: he was well aware of his danger; and remembered that the queen, after having ordered the execution of the duke of Norfolk, had endeavoured, in a like manner, to throw the whole blame and odium of that action upon lord Burleigh.[e]

Elizabeth's diſſimulation was ſo groſs that it could deceive nobody who was not previouſly reſolved to be blinded: but, as James's concern for his mother was certainly more ſincere and cordial, he diſcovered the higheſt reſentment, and refuſed to admit Cary into his preſence. He recalled his ambaſſadors from England; and ſeemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The ſtates of Scotland, being aſſembled, took part in his anger; and profeſſed that they were ready to ſpend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of his nobility inſtigated him to take arms: lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, preſented himſelf to the king arrayed in complete armour, and ſaid that this was the proper mourning for the queen. The catholics took the opportunity of exhorting James to make an alliance with the king of Spain, to lay immediate claim to the crown of England, and to prevent the ruin which, from his mother's example, he might conclude would certainly, if Elizabeth's power prevailed, overwhelm his perſon and his kingdom. The queen was ſenſible of the danger attending theſe counſels; and, after allowing James ſome decent interval to vent his grief and anger, ſhe employed her emiſſaries to pacify him, and to ſet before him every motive of hope or fear which might induce him to live in amity with her.

Walſingham wrote to lord Thirlſtone, James's ſecretary, a judicious letter to the ſame purpoſe. He ſaid that he was much ſurpriſed to hear of the violent reſolutions taken in Scotland, and of the paſſion diſcovered by a prince of ſo much judgment and temper as James: that a war, founded merely on the principle of revenge, and that too on account of an act of juſtice which neceſſity had extorted, would for ever be expoſed to cenſure, and could not be excuſed by any principles of equity or reaſon: that, if theſe views were deemed leſs momentous among princes, policy and intereſt ought certainly to be attended to; and theſe motives did ſtill more evidently oppoſe all thoughts of a rupture with Elizabeth, and all revival of exploded claims to the Engliſh throne: that the inequality between the two kingdoms deprived James of any hopes of ſucceſs, if he truſted merely to the force of his own ſtate, and had no recourſe to foreign powers for aſſiſtance: that the objections attending the introduction of ſuccours from a more potent monarch appeared ſo evident from all the tranſactions of hiſtory, that they could not eſcape a perſon of the king's extenſive knowledge; but there were, in the preſent caſe, ſeveral peculiar circumſtances, which ought for ever to deter him from having recourſe to ſo dangerous an expedient: that the French monarch, the ancient ally of Scotland, might willingly uſe the aſſiſtance of that kingdom againſt England; but would be diſpleaſed to ſee the union of theſe two kingdoms in the perſon of James; a union which would ever after exclude him from practiſing that policy formerly ſo uſeful to the French, and ſo pernicious to the Scottiſh nation: that Henry, beſides, infeſted with faction and domeſtic war, was not in a condition of ſupporting diſtant allies; much leſs would he expoſe himſelf to any hazard or expenſe, in order to aggrandize a near kinſman of the houſe of Guiſe, the moſt determined enemies of his repoſe and authority: that the ex-

tenſive power and exorbitant ambition of the Spaniſh monarch rendered him a ſtill more dangerous ally to Scotland; and, as he evidently aſpired to an univerſal monarchy in the weſt, and had in particular advanced ſome claims to England, as if he were deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter, he was at the ſame time the common enemy of all princes who wiſhed to maintain their independence, and the immediate rival and competitor of the king of Scots: that the queen, by her own naval power and her alliance with the Hollanders, would probably intercept all ſuccours which might be ſent to James from abroad, and be enabled to decide the controverſy in this iſland, with the ſuperior forces of her own kingdom, oppoſed to thoſe of Scotland: that, if the king revived his mother's pretenſions to the crown of England, he muſt alſo embrace her religion, by which alone they could be juſtified; and muſt thereby undergo the infamy of abandoning thoſe principles in which he had been ſtrictly educated, and to which he had hitherto religiouſly adhered: that, as he would by ſuch an apoſtaſy totally alienate all the proteſtants in Scotland and England, he could never gain the confidence of the catholics, who would ſtill entertain reaſonable doubts of his ſincerity: that, by advancing a preſent claim to the crown, he forfeited the certain proſpect of his ſucceſſion, and revived that national animoſity which the late peace and alliance between the kingdoms had happily extinguiſhed: that the whole gentry and nobility of England had openly declared themſelves for the execution of the queen of Scots; and, if James ſhewed ſuch violent reſentment againſt that act of juſtice, they would be obliged, for their own ſecurity, to prevent for ever ſo implacable a prince from ruling over them: and that, however ſome perſons might repreſent his honour as engaged to ſeek vengeance for the preſent affront and injury, the true honour of a prince conſiſted in wiſdom and moderation and juſtice, not in following the dictates

of blind paſſion, or in purſuing revenge at the expenſe of every motive and every intereſt.[f] Theſe conſiderations, joined to the peaceable unambitious temper of the young prince, prevailed over his reſentment; and he fell gradually into a good correſpondence with the court of England. It is probable that the queen's chief object, in her diſſimulation with regard to the execution of Mary, was that ſhe might thereby afford James a decent pretence for renewing his amity with her, on which their mutual intereſt ſo much depended.

DRAKE DESTROYS THE FLEET AT CADIZ.

WHILE Elizabeth enſured tranquillity from the attempts of her neareſt neighbour, ſhe was not negligent of more diſtant dangers. Hearing that Philip, though he ſeemed to diſſemble the daily inſults and injuries which he received from the Engliſh, was ſecretly preparing a great navy to attack her, ſhe ſent ſir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his ſupplies, to pillage his coaſt, and to deſtroy his ſhipping. Drake carried out four capital ſhips of the queen's, and twenty-ſix great and ſmall, with which the London merchants, in hopes of ſharing in the plunder, had ſupplied him. Having learned, from two Dutch ſhips which he met with in his paſſage, that a Spaniſh fleet, richly laden, was lying at Cadiz, ready to ſet ſail for Liſbon, the rendezvous of the intended Armada, he bent his courſe to the former harbour, and boldly, as well as fortunately, made an attack on the enemy. He obliged ſix gallies, which made head againſt him, to take ſhelter under the forts; he burned about a hundred veſſels, laden with ammunition and naval ſtores; and he deſtroyed a great ſhip of the marquis of Santa Croce. Thence he ſet ſail for Cape St. Vincent, and took by aſſault the caſtle ſituated on that promontory, with three other fortreſſes. He

next inſulted Liſbon; and, finding that the merchants, who had engaged entirely in expectation of profit, were diſcontented at theſe military enterpriſes, he ſet ſail for the Terceras, with an intention of lying in wait for a rich carrack which was expected in thoſe parts. He was ſo fortunate as to meet with his prize; and by this ſhort expedition, in which the public bore ſo ſmall a ſhare, the adventurers were encouraged to attempt farther enterpriſes, the Engliſh ſeamen learned to deſpiſe the great unwieldy ſhips of the enemy, the naval preparations of Spain were deſtroyed, the intended expedition againſt England was retarded a twelvemonth, and the queen thereby had leiſure to take more ſecure meaſures againſt that formidable invaſion.[g]

This year Thomas Cavendiſh, a gentleman of Devonſhire, who had diſſipated a good eſtate by living at court, being reſolved to repair his fortune at the expenſe of the Spaniards, fitted out three ſhips at Plymouth, one of a hundred and twenty tons, another of ſixty, and a third of forty; and with theſe ſmall veſſels he ventured into the South Sea, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen veſſels, ſome of which were richly laden; and, returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came to London, and entered the river in a kind of triumph. His mariners and ſoldiers were clothed in ſilk, his ſails were of damaſk, his top-ſail cloth of gold; and his prizes were eſteemed the richeſt that ever had been brought into England.[h]

The land enterpriſes of the Engliſh were not, during this campaign, ſo advantageous or honourable to the nation. The important place of Deventer was intruſted by Leiceſter to William Stanley, with a garriſon of twelve hundred Engliſh; and this gentleman, being a catholic, was alarmed at the diſcovery of Babington's conſpiracy, and became apprehenſive leſt every one of his religion ſhould thenceforth be treated with diſtruſt in

England. He entered into a correſpondence with the Spaniards, betrayed the city to them for a ſum of money, and engaged the whole garriſon to deſert with him to the Spaniſh ſervice. Roland York, who commanded a fort near Zutphen, imitated his example; and the Hollanders, formerly diſguſted with Leiceſter, and ſuſpicious of the Engliſh, broke out into loud complaints againſt the improvidence, if not the treachery, of his adminiſtration. Soon after he himſelf arrived in the Low Countries; but his conduct was nowiſe calculated to give them ſatisfaction, or to remove the ſuſpicions which they had entertained againſt him. The prince of Parma having beſieged Sluys, Leiceſter attempted to relieve the place, firſt by ſea, then by land, but failed in both enterpriſes; and, as he aſcribed his bad ſucceſs to the ill behaviour of the Hollanders, they were equally free in reflections upon his conduct. The breach between them became wider every day: they ſlighted his authority, oppoſed his meaſures, and neglected his counſels; while he endeavoured, by an imperious behaviour and by violence, to recover that influence which he had loſt by his imprudent and ill-concerted meaſures. He was even ſuſpected by the Dutch of a deſign to uſurp upon their liberties; and the jealouſy entertained againſt him began to extend towards the queen herſelf. That princeſs had made ſome advances towards a peace with Spain: a congreſs had been opened at Bourbourg, a village near Graveline: and, though the two courts, eſpecially that of Spain, had no other intention than to amuſe each of them its enemy by negociation, and mutually relax the preparations for defence or attack, the Dutch, who were determined on no terms to return under the Spaniſh yoke, became apprehenſive leſt their liberty ſhould be ſacrificed to the political intereſts of England.[i] But the queen, who knew the importance of her alliance with the States during the preſent conjuncture, was reſolved to give them en-

tire ſatisfaction by recalling Leiceſter, and commanding him to reſign his government. Maurice, ſon of the late prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years of age, was elected by the States governor in his place; and Peregrine lord Willoughby was appointed by the queen commander of the Engliſh forces. The meaſures of theſe two generals were much embarraſſed by the malignity of Leiceſter, who had left a faction behind him, and who ſtill attempted, by means of his emiſſaries, to diſturb all the operations of the States. As ſoon as Elizabeth received intelligence of theſe diſorders ſhe took care to redreſs them; and ſhe obliged all the partiſans of England to fall into unanimity with prince Maurice.[k] But, though her good ſenſe ſo far prevailed over her partiality to Leiceſter, ſhe never could be made fully ſenſible of his vices and incapacity: the ſubmiſſions which he made her reſtored him to her wonted favour; and lord Buckhurſt, who had accuſed him of miſconduct in Holland, loſt her confidence for ſome time, and was even committed to cuſtody.

Sir Chriſtopher Hatton was another favourite who at this time received ſome marks of her partiality. Though he had never followed the profeſſion of the law, he was made chancellor in the place of Bromley, deceaſed; but, notwithſtanding all the expectations, and perhaps wiſhes, of the lawyers, he behaved in a manner not unworthy of that high ſtation: his good natural capacity ſupplied the place of experience and ſtudy; and his deciſions were not found deficient either in point of equity or judgment. His enemies had contributed to this promotion, in hopes that his abſence from court, while he attended the buſineſs of chancery, would gradually eſtrange the queen from him, and give them an opportunity of undermining him in her favour.

PROJECTED INVASION OF ENGLAND. 1588.

THESE little intrigues and cabals of the court were ſilenced by the account, which came from all quarters, of the vaſt preparations made by the Spaniards for the invaſion of England, and for the entire conqueſt of that kingdom. Philip, though he had not yet declared war, on account of the hoſtilities which Elizabeth every where committed upon him, had long harboured a ſecret and violent deſire of revenge againſt her. His ambition alſo, and the hopes of extending his empire, were much encouraged by the preſent proſperous ſtate of his affairs; by the conqueſt of Portugal, the acquiſition of the Eaſt Indian commerce and ſettlements, and the yearly importation of vaſt treaſures from America. The point on which he reſted his higheſt glory, the perpetual object of his policy, was to ſupport orthodoxy and exterminate hereſy; and, as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the proteſtants, he hoped, if he could ſubdue that princeſs, to acquire the eternal renown of reuniting the whole Chriſtian world in the catholic communion. Above all, his indignation againſt his revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands inſtigated him to attack the Engliſh, who had encouraged that inſurrection, and who, by their vicinity, were ſo well enabled to ſupport the Hollanders, that he could never hope to reduce theſe rebels while the power of that kingdom remained entire and unbroken. To ſubdue England ſeemed a neceſſary preparative to the re-eſtabliſhment of his authority in the Netherlands; and, notwithſtanding appearances, the former was in itſelf, as a more important, ſo a more eaſy, undertaking than the latter. That kingdom lay nearer Spain than the Low Countries, and was more expoſed to invaſions from that quarter; after an enemy had once obtained entrance, the difficulty

ſeemed to be over, as it was neither fortified by art or nature; a long peace had deprived it of all military diſcipline and experience; and the catholics, in which it ſtill abounded, would be ready, it was hoped, to join any invader who ſhould free them from thoſe perſecutions under which they laboured, and ſhould revenge the death of the queen of Scots, on whom they had fixed all their affections. The fate of England muſt be decided in one battle at ſea, and another at land; and what compariſon between the Engliſh and Spaniards, either in point of naval force, or in the numbers, reputation, and veteran bravery, of their armies? Beſides the acquiſition of ſo great a kingdom, ſucceſs againſt England enſured the immediate ſubjection of the Hollanders, who, attacked on every hand, and deprived of all ſupport, muſt yield their ſtubborn necks to that yoke which they had ſo long reſiſted. Happily this conqueſt, as it was of the utmoſt importance to the grandeur of Spain, would not at preſent be oppoſed by the jealouſy of other powers, naturally ſo much intereſted to prevent the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe. A truce was lately concluded with the Turks; the empire was in the hands of a friend and near ally; and France, the perpetual rival of Spain, was ſo torn with inteſtine commotions, that ſhe had no leiſure to pay attention to her foreign intereſts. This favourable opportunity, therefore, which might never again preſent itſelf, muſt be ſeized, and one bold effort made for acquiring that aſcendant in Europe, to which the preſent greatneſs and proſperity of the Spaniards ſeemed ſo fully to entitle them.[1]

THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA.

These hopes and motives engaged Philip, notwithſtanding his cautious temper, to undertake this hazardous enterpriſe; and, though the prince, now created by the pope duke of Parma,

when conſulted, oppoſed the attempt, at leaſt repreſented the neceſſity of previouſly getting poſſeſſion of ſome ſeaport town in the Netherlands, which might afford a retreat to the Spaniſh navy,[m] it was determined by the catholic monarch to proceed immediately to the execution of this ambitious project. During ſome time he had been ſecretly making preparations; but, as ſoon as the reſolution was fully taken, every part of his vaſt empire reſounded with the noiſe of armaments; and all his miniſters, generals, and admirals, were employed in forwarding the deſign. The marquis of Santa Croce, a ſea officer of great reputation and experience, was deſtined to command the fleet; and by his counſels were the naval equipments conducted. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artiſans were employed in building veſſels of uncommon ſize and force; naval ſtores were bought at a great expenſe; proviſions amaſſed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime towns of Spain; and plans laid for fitting out ſuch a fleet and embarkation as had never before had its equal in Europe. The military preparations in Flanders were no leſs formidable. Troops from all quarters were every moment aſſembling, to reinforce the duke of Parma. Capizuchi and Spinelli conducted forces from Italy: the marquis of Borgaut, a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, levied troops in Germany: the Walloon and Burgundian regiments were completed or augmented: the Spaniſh infantry was ſupplied with recruits; and an army of thirty-four thouſand men was aſſembled in the Netherlands, and kept in readineſs to be tranſported into England. The duke of Parma employed all the carpenters whom he could procure, either in Flanders or in Lower Germany, and the coaſts of the Baltic; and he built at Dunkirk and Newport, but eſpecially at Antwerp, a great number of boats and flat-bottomed veſſels, for the tranſporting of his infantry and cavalry. The moſt renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were

ambitious of ſharing in the honour of this great enterpriſe. Don Amadæus of Savoy, don John of Medicis, Veſpaſian Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and the duke of Paſtrana, haſtened to join the army under the duke of Parma. About two thouſand volunteers in Spain, many of them men of family, had enliſted in the ſervice. No doubts were entertained but ſuch vaſt preparations, conducted by officers of ſuch conſummate ſkill, muſt finally be ſucceſsful. And the Spaniards, oſtentatious of their power, and elated with vain hopes, had already denominated their navy 'the Invincible Armada!'

PREPARATIONS IN ENGLAND.

NEWS of theſe extraordinary preparations ſoon reached the court of London; and, notwithſtanding the ſecreſy of the Spaniſh council, and their pretending to employ this force in the Indies, it was eaſily concluded that they meant to make ſome effort againſt England. The queen had foreſeen the invaſion; and, finding that ſhe muſt now contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, ſhe made preparations for reſiſtance; nor was ſhe diſmayed with that power by which all Europe apprehended ſhe muſt of neceſſity be overwhelmed. Her force indeed ſeemed very unequal to reſiſt ſo potent an enemy. All the ſailors in England amounted at that time to about fourteen thouſand men.[n] The ſize of the Engliſh ſhipping was in general ſo ſmall, that, except a few of the queen's ſhips of war, there were not four veſſels belonging to the merchants which exceeded four hundred tons.[o] The royal navy conſiſted only of twenty-eight ſail,[p] many of which were of ſmall ſize; none of them exceeded the bulk of our largeſt frigates, and moſt of them deſerved rather the name of pinnaces than of ſhips. The only advantage of the Engliſh fleet conſiſted in the dexterity and courage of the

ſeamen, who, being accuſtomed to ſail in tempeſtuous ſeas, and expoſe themſelves to all dangers, as much exceeded in this particular the Spaniſh mariners, as their veſſels were inferior in ſize and force to thoſe of that nation.[q] All the commercial towns of England were required to furniſh ſhips for reinforcing this ſmall navy; and they diſcovered, on the preſent occaſion, great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion againſt thoſe imminent perils with which they were menaced. The citizens of London, in order to ſhew their zeal in the common cauſe, inſtead of fifteen veſſels, which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number.[r] The gentry and nobility hired, and armed and manned, forty-three ſhips at their own charge;[s] and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were frankly granted by the perſons applied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was admiral, and took on him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Forbiſher, the moſt renowned ſeamen in Europe, ſerved under him. The principal fleet was ſtationed at Plymouth. A ſmaller ſquadron, conſiſting of forty veſſels, Engliſh and Flemiſh, was commanded by lord Seymour, ſecond ſon of protector Somerſet; and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

The land forces of England, compared to thoſe of Spain, poſſeſſed contrary qualities to its naval power: they were more numerous than the enemy, but much inferior in diſcipline, reputation, and experience. An army of twenty thouſand men was diſpoſed in different bodies along the ſouth coaſt; and orders were given them, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards, to waſte the country around, and to wait for reinforcement from the neighbouring counties before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, under the command of the earl

of Leiceſter, was ſtationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital. The principal army conſiſted of thirty-four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, and was commanded by lord Hunſdon. Theſe forces were reſerved for guarding the queen's perſon, and were appointed to march whitherſoever the enemy ſhould appear. The fate of England, if all the Spaniſh armies ſhould be able to land, ſeemed to depend on the iſſue of a ſingle battle; and men of reflection entertained the moſt diſmal apprehenſions when they conſidered the force of fifty thouſand veteran Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the duke of Parma, the moſt conſummate general of the age; and compared this formidable armament with the military power which England, not enervated by peace, but long diſuſed to war, could muſter up againſt it.

The chief ſupport of the kingdom ſeemed to conſiſt in the vigour and prudence of the queen's conduct; who, undiſmayed by the preſent dangers, iſſued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a ſteady reſiſtance, and employed every reſource which either her domeſtic ſituation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She ſent ſir Robert Sidney into Scotland; and exhorted the king to remain attached to her, and to conſider the danger which at preſent menaced his ſovereignty no leſs than her own,[t] from the ambition of the Spaniſh tyrant. The ambaſſador found James well diſpoſed to cultivate a union with England, and that prince even kept himſelf prepared to march with the force of his whole kingdom to the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the tie of their common religion, engaged this monarch, upon her application, to ſeize a ſquadron of ſhips which Philip had bought or hired in the Daniſh harbours.[u] The Hanſe Towns, though not at that time on good terms with Elizabeth, were induced by the ſame motives to retard ſo long the equipment of ſome

veſſels in their ports, that they became uſeleſs to the purpoſe of invading England. All the proteſtants throughout Europe regarded this enterpriſe as the critical event which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion; and, though unable, by reaſon of their diſtance, to join their force to that of Elizabeth, they kept their eyes fixed on her conduct and fortune, and beheld with anxiety, mixed with admiration, the intrepid countenance with which ſhe encountered that dreadful tempeſt which was every moment advancing towards her.

The queen alſo was ſenſible that, next to the general popularity which ſhe enjoyed, and the confidence which her ſubjects repoſed in her prudent government, the firmeſt ſupport of her throne conſiſted in the general zeal of the people for the proteſtant religion, and the ſtrong prejudices which they had imbibed againſt popery. She took care, on the preſent occaſion, to revive in the nation this attachment to their own ſect, and this abhorrence of the oppoſite. The Engliſh were reminded of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain: all the barbarities exerciſed by Mary againſt the proteſtants were aſcribed to the counſels of that bigoted and imperious nation: the bloody maſſacres in the Indies, the unrelenting executions in the Low Countries, the horrid cruelties and iniquities of the inquiſition, were ſet before men's eyes: a liſt and deſcription was publiſhed, and pictures diſperſed, of the ſeveral inſtruments of torture with which, it was pretended, the Spaniſh Armada was loaded: and every artifice, as well as reaſon, was employed to animate the people to a vigorous defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties.

But, while the queen, in this critical emergence, roufed the animoſity of the nation againſt popery, ſhe treated the partiſans of that ſect with moderation, and gave not way to an undiſtinguiſhing fury againſt them. Though ſhe knew that Sixtus Quin-

Q. ELIZABETH AT TILBURY

tus, the preſent pope, famous for his capacity and his tyranny, had fulminated a new bull of excommunication againſt her, had depoſed her, had abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, had publiſhed a cruſade againſt England, and had granted plenary indulgences to every one engaged in the preſent invaſion, ſhe would not believe that all her catholic ſubjects could be ſo blinded as to ſacrifice to bigotry their duty to their ſovereign, and the liberty and independence of their native country. She rejected all violent counſels, by which ſhe was urged to ſeek pretences for diſpatching the leaders of that party; ſhe would not even confine any conſiderable number of them; and the catholics, ſenſible of this good uſage, generally expreſſed great zeal for the public ſervice. Some gentlemen of that ſect, conſcious that they could not juſtly expect any truſt or authority, entered themſelves as volunteers in the fleet or army:[x] ſome equipped ſhips at their own charge, and gave the command of them to proteſtants: others were active in animating their tenants, and vaſſals, and neighbours, to the defence of their country: and every rank of men, burying for the preſent all party diſtinctions, ſeemed to prepare themſelves with order as well as vigour to reſiſt the violence of theſe invaders.

The more to excite the martial ſpirit of the nation, the queen appeared on horſeback in the camp at Tilbury; and, riding through the lines, diſcovered a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorted the ſoldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and profeſſed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herſelf into the field againſt the enemy, and rather to periſh in battle than ſurvive the ruin and ſlavery of her people.[y] By this ſpirited behaviour ſhe revived the tenderneſs and admiration of the ſoldiery: an attachment to her perſon became a kind of enthuſiaſm among them: and they aſked one another whether it were poſſible that Engliſhmen

could abandon this glorious cauſe, could diſplay leſs fortitude than appeared in the female ſex, or could ever by any dangers be induced to relinquiſh the defence of their heroic princeſs?

The Spaniſh Armada was ready in the beginning of May; but, the moment it was preparing to ſail, the marquis of Santa Croce, the admiral, was ſeized with a fever, of which he ſoon after died. The vice-admiral, the duke of Paliano, by a ſtrange concurrence of accidents, at the very ſame time ſuffered the ſame fate; and the king appointed for admiral the duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but unexperienced in action, and entirely unacquainted with ſea affairs. Alcarede was appointed vice-admiral. This misfortune, beſides the loſs of ſo great an officer as Santa Croce, retarded the ſailing of the Armada, and gave the Engliſh more time for their preparations to oppoſe them. At laſt the Spaniſh fleet, full of hopes and alacrity, ſet ſail from Liſbon; but next day met with a violent tempeſt, which ſcattered the ſhips, ſunk ſome of the ſmalleſt, and forced the reſt to take ſhelter in the Groine, where they waited till they could be refitted. When news of this event was carried to England the queen concluded that the deſign of an invaſion was diſappointed for this ſummer; and, being always ready to lay hold on every pretence for ſaving money, ſhe made Walſingham write to the admiral, directing him to lay up ſome of the larger ſhips, and to diſcharge the ſeamen: but lord Effingham, who was not ſo ſanguine in his hopes, uſed the freedom to diſobey theſe orders; and he begged leave to retain all the ſhips in ſervice, though it ſhould be at his own expenſe.* He took advantage of a north wind, and ſailed towards the coaſt of Spain, with an intention of attacking the enemy in their harbours; but, the wind changing to the ſouth, he became apprehenſive leſt they might have ſet ſail, and, by paſſing him at ſea, invade England, now expoſed by the abſence of the fleet. He returned, there-

fore, with the utmoſt expedition to Plymouth, and lay at anchor in that harbour.

Meanwhile all the damages of the Armada were repaired; and the Spaniards, with freſh hopes, ſet out again to ſea, in proſecution of their enterpriſe. The fleet conſiſted of a hundred and thirty veſſels, of which near a hundred were galleons, and were of greater ſize than any ever before uſed in Europe. It carried on board nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five ſoldiers, eight thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſix mariners, two thouſand and eighty-eight galley-ſlaves, and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty great pieces of braſs ordnance. It was victualled for ſix months, and was attended by twenty leſſer ſhips, called caravals, and ten ſalves with ſix oars apiece.[a]

THE ARMADA ARRIVES IN THE CHANNEL.

THE plan formed by the king of Spain was, that the Armada ſhould ſail to the coaſt oppoſite to Dunkirk and Newport; and, having chaſed away all Engliſh or Flemiſh veſſels, which might obſtruct the paſſage (for it was never ſuppoſed they could make oppoſition), ſhould join themſelves with the duke of Parma; ſhould thence make ſail to the Thames; and, having landed the whole Spaniſh army, thus complete at one blow the entire conqueſt of England. In proſecution of this ſcheme, Philip gave orders to the duke of Medina, that, in paſſing along the channel, he ſhould ſail as near the coaſt of France as he could with ſafety; that he ſhould, by this policy, avoid meeting with the Engliſh fleet; and, keeping in view the main enterpriſe, ſhould neglect all ſmaller ſucceſſes, which might prove an obſtacle, or even interpoſe a delay, to the acquiſition of a kingdom.[b] After the Armada was under ſail they took a fiſherman, who informed them that the Engliſh admiral had been lately at ſea, had heard

of the tempeſt which ſcattered the Armada, had retired back into Plymouth, and, no longer expecting an invaſion this ſeaſon, had laid up his ſhips, and diſcharged moſt of the ſeamen. From this falſe intelligence the duke of Medina conceived the great facility of attacking and deſtroying the Engliſh ſhips in harbour; and he was tempted, by the proſpect of ſo deciſive an advantage, to break his orders, and make ſail directly for Plymouth: a reſolution which proved the ſafety of England. The Lizard was the firſt land made by the Armada, about ſun-ſet; and, as the Spaniards took it for the Ram-head near Plymouth, they bore out to ſea with an intention of returning next day, and attacking the Engliſh navy. They were deſcried by Fleming, a Scottiſh pirate, who was roving in thoſe ſeas, and who immediately ſet ſail to inform the Engliſh admiral [c] of their approach: another fortunate event which contributed extremely to the ſafety of the fleet. Effingham had juſt time to get out of port, when he ſaw the Spaniſh Armada coming full ſail towards him, diſpoſed in the form of a creſcent, and ſtretching the diſtance of ſeven miles from the extremity of one diviſion to that of the other.

The writers of that age raiſe their ſtyle by a pompous deſcription of this ſpectacle; the moſt magnificent that had ever appeared upon the ocean, infuſing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders. The lofty maſts, the ſwelling ſails, and the towering prows, of the Spaniſh galleons, ſeem impoſſible to be juſtly painted but by aſſuming the colours of poetry; and an eloquent hiſtorian of Italy, in imitation of Camden, has aſſerted that the Armada, though the ſhips bore every ſail, yet advanced with a ſlow motion; as if the ocean groaned with ſupporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, ſo enormous a weight.[d] The truth, however, is, that the largeſt of the Spaniſh veſſels would ſcarcely paſs for third rates in the

preſent navy of England; yet were they ſo ill framed, or ſo ill governed, that they were quite unwieldy, and could not ſail upon a wind, nor tack on occaſion, nor be managed in ſtormy weather by the ſeamen. Neither the mechanics of ſhip-building, nor the experience of mariners, had attained ſo great perfection as could ſerve for the ſecurity and government of ſuch bulky veſſels; and the Engliſh, who had already had experience how unſerviceable they commonly were, beheld without diſmay their tremendous appearance.

Effingham gave orders not to come to cloſe fight with the Spaniards; where the ſize of the ſhips, he ſuſpected, and the numbers of the ſoldiers, would be a diſadvantage to the Engliſh; but to cannonade them at a diſtance, and to wait the opportunity which winds, currents, or various accidents, muſt afford him, of intercepting ſome ſcattered veſſels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event anſwered expectation. A great ſhip of Biſcay, on board of which was a conſiderable part of the Spaniſh money, took fire by accident; and, while all hands were employed in extinguiſhing the flames, ſhe fell behind the reſt of the Armada: the great galleon of Andaluzia was detained by the ſpringing of her maſt: and both theſe veſſels were taken, after ſome reſiſtance, by ſir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the channel the Engliſh hung upon its rear, and ſtill infeſted it with ſkirmiſhes. Each trial abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added courage to the Engliſh; and the latter ſoon found that, even in cloſe fight, the ſize of the Spaniſh ſhips was no advantage to them. Their bulk expoſed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their cannon, placed too high, ſhot over the heads of the Engliſh. The alarm having now reached the coaſt of England, the nobility and gentry haſtened out with their veſſels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, ſir Tho-

mas Cecil, ſir Robert Cecil, ſir Walter Raleigh, ſir Thomas Vavaſor, ſir Thomas Gerrard, ſir Charles Blount, with many others, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this generous and diſintereſted ſervice of their country. The Engliſh fleet, after the conjunction of thoſe ſhips, amounted to a hundred and forty ſail.

The Armada had now reached Calais, and caſt anchor before that place; in expectation that the duke of Parma, who had gotten intelligence of their approach, would put to ſea and join his forces to them. The Engliſh admiral practiſed here a ſucceſsful ſtratagem upon the Spaniards. He took eight of his ſmaller ſhips, and, filling them with all combuſtible materials, ſent them one after another into the midſt of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied that they were fireſhips of the ſame contrivance with a famous veſſel which had lately done ſo much execution in the Schelde near Antwerp; and they immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greateſt diſorder and precipitation. The Engliſh fell upon them next morning while in confuſion; and, beſides doing great damage to other ſhips, they took or deſtroyed about twelve of the enemy.

THE ARMADA DEFEATED.

By this time it was become apparent that the intention for which theſe preparations were made by the Spaniards was entirely fruſtrated. The veſſels provided by the duke of Parma were made for tranſporting ſoldiers, not for fighting; and that general, when urged to leave the harbour, poſitively refuſed to expoſe his flouriſhing army to ſuch apparent hazard; while the Engliſh not only were able to keep the ſea, but ſeemed even to triumph over their enemy. The Spaniſh admiral found, in many rencounters, that, while he loſt ſo conſiderable a part of his own navy, he had deſtroyed only one ſmall veſſel of the Engliſh;

THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

and he foreſaw that, by continuing ſo unequal a combat, he muſt draw inevitable deſtruction on all the remainder: he prepared therefore to return homewards; but, as the wind was contrary to his paſſage through the channel, he reſolved to ſail northwards, and, making the tour of the iſland, reach the Spaniſh harbours by the ocean. The Engliſh fleet followed him during ſome time; and, had not their ammunition fallen ſhort, by the negligence of the offices in ſupplying them, they had obliged the whole Armada to ſurrender at diſcretion. The duke of Medina had once taken that reſolution; but was diverted from it by the advice of his confeſſor. This concluſion of the enterpriſe would have been more glorious to the Engliſh; but the event proved almoſt equally fatal to the Spaniards. A violent tempeſt overtook the Armada after it paſſed the Orkneys: the ſhips had already loſt their anchors, and were obliged to keep to ſea: the mariners, unaccuſtomed to ſuch hardſhips, and not able to govern ſuch unwieldy veſſels, yielded to the fury of the ſtorm, and allowed their ſhips to drive either on the weſtern iſles of Scotland, or on the coaſt of Ireland, where they were miſerably wrecked. Not a half of the navy returned to Spain; and the ſeamen as well as ſoldiers who remained were ſo overcome with hardſhips and fatigue, and ſo diſpirited by their diſcomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the deſperate valour of the Engliſh, and of the tempeſtuous violence of that ocean which ſurrounds them.

Such was the miſerable and diſhonourable concluſion of an enterpriſe which had been preparing for three years, which had exhauſted the revenue and force of Spain, and which had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. Philip, who was a ſlave to his ambition, but had an entire command over his countenance, no ſooner heard of the mortifying event which blaſted all his hopes, than he fell on his knees, and, rendering

thanks for that gracious diſpenſation of Providence, expreſſed his joy that the calamity was not greater. The Spaniſh prieſts, who had ſo often bleſſed this holy cruſade, and foretold its infallible ſucceſs, were ſomewhat at a loſs to account for the victory gained over the catholic monarch by excommunicated heretics and an execrable uſurper: but they at laſt diſcovered that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them.[e]

Soon after the defeat and diſperſion of the Spaniſh Armada, on the fourth of February 1589, the queen ſummoned a new parliament; and received from them a ſupply of two ſubſidies and four fifteenths, payable in four years. This is the firſt inſtance that ſubſidies were doubled in one ſupply; and ſo unuſual a conceſſion was probably obtained from the joy of the preſent ſucceſs, and from the general ſenſe of the queen's neceſſities. Some members objected to this heavy charge, on account of the great burden of loans which had lately been impoſed upon the nation.[f]

A PARLIAMENT. 1589.

ELIZABETH foreſaw that this houſe of commons, like all the foregoing, would be governed by the puritans; and therefore, to obviate their enterpriſes, ſhe renewed at the beginning of the ſeſſion her uſual injunction, that the parliament ſhould not on any account preſume to treat of matters eccleſiaſtical. Notwithſtanding this ſtrict inhibition, the zeal of one Damport moved him to preſent a bill to the commons for remedying ſpiritual grievances, and for reſtraining the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, which were certainly great: but, when Mr. ſecretary Woley reminded the houſe of her majeſty's commands, no one durſt ſecond the motion; the bill was not ſo much as read; and

the ſpeaker returned it to Damport without taking the leaſt notice of it.[g] Some members of the houſe, notwithſtanding the general ſubmiſſion, were even committed to cuſtody on account of this attempt.[h]

The imperious conduct of Elizabeth appeared ſtill more clearly in another parliamentary tranſaction. The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could at pleaſure take proviſions for the houſehold from all the neighbouring counties, and could make uſe of the carts and carriages of the farmers; and the price of theſe commodities and ſervices was fixed and ſtated. The payment of the money was often diſtant and uncertain; and the rates, being fixed before the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies, were much inferior to the preſent market price; ſo that purveyance, beſides the ſlavery of it, was always regarded as a great burden, and, being arbitrary and caſual, was liable to great abuſes. We may fairly preſume that the hungry courtiers of Elizabeth, ſupported by her unlimited power, would be ſure to render this prerogative very oppreſſive to the people; and the commons had laſt ſeſſion found it neceſſary to paſs a bill for regulating theſe exactions: but the bill was loſt in the houſe of peers.[i] The continuance of the abuſes begat a new attempt for redreſs; and the ſame bill was now revived, and again ſent up to the houſe of peers, together with a bill for ſome new regulations in the court of exchequer. Soon after the commons received a meſſage from the upper houſe, deſiring them to appoint a committee for a conference. At this conference the peers informed them that the queen, by a meſſage delivered by lord Burleigh, had expreſſed her diſpleaſure that the commons ſhould preſume to touch on her prerogative. If there were any abuſes, ſhe ſaid, either in impoſing purveyance, or in the practice of the court of exchequer, her majeſty was both able and willing to provide due reformation;

but would not permit the parliament to intermeddle in theſe matters.[k] The commons, alarmed at this intelligence, appointed another committee to attend the queen, and endeavoured to ſatisfy her of their humble and dutiful intentions. Elizabeth gave a gracious reception to the committee: ſhe expreſſed her great ineſtimable loving care towards her loving ſubjects; which, ſhe ſaid, was greater than of her own ſelf, or even than any of them could have of themſelves. She told them that ſhe had already given orders for an inquiry into the abuſes attending purveyance, but the dangers of the Spaniſh invaſion had retarded the progreſs of the deſign; that ſhe had as much ſkill, will, and power, to rule her houſehold as any ſubjects whatſoever to govern theirs, and needed as little the aſſiſtance of her neighbours; that the exchequer was her chamber, conſequently more near to her than even her houſehold, and therefore the leſs proper for them to intermeddle with; and that ſhe would of herſelf, with advice of her council and the judges, redreſs every grievance in theſe matters; but would not permit the commons, by laws moved without her privity, to bereave her of the honour attending theſe regulations.[l] The iſſue of this matter was the ſame that attended all conteſts between Elizabeth and her parliaments.[m] She ſeems even to have been more imperious in this particular than her predeceſſors, at leaſt her more remote ones; for they often permitted the abuſes of purveyance [n] to be redreſſed by law.[o] Edward III, a very arbitrary prince, allowed ten ſeveral ſtatutes to be enacted for that purpoſe.

In ſo great awe did the commons ſtand of every courtier, as well as of the crown, that they durſt uſe no freedom of ſpeech which they thought would give the leaſt offence to any of them. Sir Edward Hobby ſhewed in the houſe his extreme grief that, by ſome great perſonage, not a member of the houſe, he had been ſharply rebuked for ſpeeches delivered in parliament: he

craved the favour of the houſe, and deſired that ſome of the members might inform that great perſonage of his true meaning and intention in theſe ſpeeches.[p] The commons, to obviate theſe inconveniences, paſſed a vote that no one ſhould reveal the ſecrets of the houſe.[q]

EXPEDITION AGAINST PORTUGAL.

THE diſcomfiture of the Armada had begotten in the nation a kind of enthuſiaſtic paſſion for enterpriſes againſt Spain; and nothing ſeemed now impoſſible to be achieved by the valour and fortune of the Engliſh. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural ſon of the royal family of Portugal, truſting to the averſion of his countrymen againſt the Caſtilians, had advanced a claim to the crown; and, flying firſt to France, then to England, had been encouraged both by Henry and Elizabeth in his pretenſions. A deſign was formed by the people, not the court of England, to conquer the kingdom for don Antonio: ſir Francis Drake and ſir John Norris were the leaders in this romantic enterpriſe: near twenty thouſand volunteers[r] enliſted themſelves in the ſervice; and ſhips were hired, as well as arms provided, at the charge of the adventurers. The queen's frugality kept her from contributing more than ſixty thouſand pounds to the expenſe; and ſhe only allowed ſix of her ſhips of war to attend the expedition.[s] There was more ſpirit and bravery, than foreſight or prudence, in the conduct of this enterpriſe. The ſmall ſtock of the adventurers did not enable them to buy either proviſions or ammunition ſufficient for ſuch an undertaking: they even wanted veſſels to ſtow the numerous volunteers who crowded to them; and they were obliged to ſeize by force ſome ſhips of the Hanſe Towns, which they met with at ſea: an expedient which ſet them ſomewhat more at eaſe in point of room for their men,

but remedied not the deficiency of their proviſions. Had they ſailed directly to Portugal, it is believed that the good-will of the people, joined to the defenceleſs ſtate of the country, might have enſured them of ſucceſs: but, hearing that great preparations were making at the Groine for the invaſion of England, they were induced to go thither and deſtroy this new armament of Spain. They broke into the harbour, burned ſome ſhips of war, particularly one commanded by Recalde, vice-admiral of Spain; they defeated an army of four or five thouſand men, which was aſſembled to oppoſe them; they aſſaulted the Groine, and took the lower town, which they pillaged; and they would have taken the higher, though well fortified, had they not found their ammunition and proviſions beginning to fail them. The young earl of Eſſex, a nobleman of promiſing hopes, fired with the thirſt of military honour, had ſecretly, unknown to the queen, ſtolen from England, here joined the adventurers; and it was then agreed by common conſent to make ſail for Portugal, the main object of their enterpriſe.

The Engliſh landed at Paniche, a ſeaport town twelve leagues from Liſbon; and Norris led the army to that capital, while Drake undertook to ſail up the river, and attack the city with united forces. By this time the court of Spain had gotten leiſure to prepare againſt the invaſion. Forces were thrown into Liſbon; the Portugueſe were diſarmed; all ſuſpected perſons were taken into cuſtody; and thus, though the inhabitants bore great affection to don Antonio, none of them durſt declare in favour of the invaders. The Engliſh army, however, made themſelves maſters of the ſuburbs, which abounded with riches of all kinds; but, as they deſired to conciliate the affections of the Portugueſe, and were more intent on honour than profit, they obſerved a ſtrict diſcipline, and abſtained from all plunder. Meanwhile they found their ammunition and proviſions much ex-

hauſted; they had not a ſingle cannon to make a breach in the walls; the admiral had not been able to paſs ſome fortreſſes which guarded the river; there was no appearance of an inſurrection in their favour; ſickneſs, from fatigue, hunger, and intemperance in wine and fruits, had ſeized the army; ſo that it was found neceſſary to make all poſſible haſte to reimbark. They were not purſued by the enemy; and, finding at the mouth of the river ſixty ſhips laden with naval ſtores, they ſeized them as lawful prize; though they belonged to the Hanſe Towns, a neutral power. They ſailed thence to Vigo, which they took and burned; and, having ravaged the country around, they ſet ſail and arrived in England. Above half of theſe gallant adventurers periſhed by ſickneſs, famine, fatigue, and the ſword;[w] and England reaped more honour than profit from this extraordinary enterpriſe. It is computed that eleven hundred gentlemen embarked on board the fleet, and that only three hundred and fifty ſurvived thoſe multiplied diſaſters.[x]

When theſe ſhips were on their voyage homewards they met with the earl of Cumberland, who was outward bound, with a fleet of ſeven ſail, all equipped at his own charge, except one ſhip of war which the queen had lent him. That nobleman ſupplied ſir Francis Drake with ſome proviſions; a generoſity which ſaved the lives of many of Drake's men, but for which the others afterwards ſuffered ſeverely. Cumberland ſailed towards the Terceras, and took ſeveral prizes from the enemy; but the richeſt, valued at a hundred thouſand pounds, periſhed in her return, with all her cargo, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. Many of theſe adventurers were killed in a raſh attempt at the Terceras; a great mortality ſeized the reſt; and it was with difficulty that the few hands which remained were able to ſteer the ſhips back into harbour.[y]

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

THOUGH the ſignal advantages gained over the Spaniards, and the ſpirit thence infuſed into the Engliſh, gave Elizabeth great ſecurity during the reſt of her reign, ſhe could not forbear keeping an anxious eye on Scotland, whoſe ſituation rendered its revolutions always of importance to her. It might have been expected that this high-ſpirited princeſs, who knew ſo well to brave danger, would not have retained that malignant jealouſy towards her heir, with which, during the lifetime of Mary, ſhe had been ſo much agitated. James had indeed ſucceeded to all the claims of his mother; but he had not ſucceeded to the favour of the catholics, which could alone render theſe claims dangerous;[z] and, as the queen was now well advanced in years, and enjoyed an uncontrolled authority over her ſubjects, it was not likely that the king of Scots, who was of an indolent unambitious temper, would ever give her any diſturbance in her poſſeſſion of the throne. Yet all theſe circumſtances could not remove her timorous ſuſpicions; and, ſo far from ſatisfying the nation by a ſettlement of the ſucceſſion, or a declaration of James's title, ſhe was as anxious to prevent every incident which might anywiſe raiſe his credit, or procure him the regard of the Engliſh, as if he had been her immediate rival and competitor. Moſt of his miniſters and favourites were her penſioners; and, as ſhe was deſirous to hinder him from marrying and having children, ſhe obliged him to throw obſtacles in the way of every alliance, even the moſt reaſonable, which could be offered him; and during ſome years ſhe ſucceeded in this malignant policy.[a] He had fixed on the elder daughter of the king of Denmark, who, being a remote prince and not powerful, could give her no umbrage; yet did ſhe ſo artfully croſs this negociation, that the Daniſh

monarch, impatient of delay, married his daughter to the duke of Brunſwick. James then renewed his ſuit to the younger princeſs; and ſtill found obſtacles from the intrigues of Elizabeth, who, merely with a view of interpoſing delay, propoſed to him the ſiſter of the king of Navarre, a princeſs much older than himſelf, and entirely deſtitute of fortune. The young king, beſides the deſire of ſecuring himſelf, by the proſpect of iſſue, from thoſe traiterous attempts too frequent among his ſubjects, had been ſo watched by the rigid auſterity of the eccleſiaſtics, that he had another inducement to marry, which is not ſo uſual with monarchs. His impatience therefore broke through all the politics of Elizabeth: the articles of marriage were ſettled: the ceremony was performed by proxy: and the princeſs embarked for Scotland; but was driven by a ſtorm into a port of Norway. This tempeſt, and ſome others which happened near the ſame time, were univerſally believed in Scotland and Denmark to have proceeded from a combination of the Scottiſh and Daniſh witches; and the dying confeſſion of the criminals was ſuppoſed to put the accuſation beyond all controverſy.[b] James, however, though a great believer in ſorcery, was not deterred by this incident from taking a voyage in order to conduct his bride home: he arrived in Norway; carried the queen thence to Copenhagen; and, having paſſed the winter in that city, he brought her next ſpring to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people. The clergy alone, who never neglected an opportunity of vexing their prince, made oppoſition to the queen's coronation, on account of the ceremony of anointing her, which they alleged was either a Jewiſh or a popiſh rite; and therefore utterly antichriſtian and unlawful. But James was as much bent on the ceremony as they were averſe to it; and, after much controverſy and many intrigues, his authority, which had not often happened, at laſt prevailed over their oppoſition.[c]

CHAPTER XLIII.

ELIZABETH.

FRENCH AFFAIRS....MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GUISE....MURDER OF HENRY III....PROGRESS OF HENRY IV....NAVAL ENTERPRISES AGAINST SPAIN....A PARLIAMENT....HENRY IV EMBRACES THE CATHOLIC RELIGION....SCOTCH AFFAIRS....NAVAL ENTERPRISES ....A PARLIAMENT....PEACE OF VERVINS....THE EARL OF ESSEX.

AFTER a ſtate of great anxiety and many difficulties, Elizabeth had at length reached a ſituation where, though her affairs ſtill required attention, and found employment for her active ſpirit, ſhe was removed from all danger of any immediate revolution, and might regard the efforts of her enemies with ſome degree of confidence and ſecurity. Her ſucceſsful and prudent adminiſtration had gained her, together with the admiration of foreigners, the affections of her own ſubjects; and, after the death of the queen of Scots, even the catholics, however diſcontented, pretended not to diſpute her title, or adhere to any other perſon as her competitor. James, curbed by his factious nobility and eccleſiaſtics, poſſeſſed at home very little authority; and was ſolicitous to remain on good terms with Elizabeth and the Engliſh nation, in hopes that time, aided by his patient tranquillity, would ſecure him that rich ſucceſſion to which his birth en-

titled him. The Hollanders, though overmatched in their conteſt with Spain, ſtill made an obſtinate reſiſtance; and ſuch was their unconquerable antipathy to their old maſters, and ſuch the prudent conduct of young Maurice their governor, that the ſubduing of that ſmall territory, if at all poſſible, muſt be the work of years, and the reſult of many and great ſucceſſes. Philip, who, in his powerful effort againſt England, had been tranſported by reſentment and ambition beyond his uſual cautious maxims, was now diſabled, and ſtill more diſcouraged, from adventuring again on ſuch hazardous enterpriſes. The ſituation alſo of affairs in France began chiefly to employ his attention; but, notwithſtanding all his artifice and force and expenſe, the events in that kingdom proved every day more contrary to his expectations, and more favourable to the friends and confederates of England.

FRENCH AFFAIRS. 1590.

The violence of the league having conſtrained Henry to declare war againſt the hugonots, theſe religioniſts ſeemed expoſed to the utmoſt danger; and Elizabeth, ſenſible of the intimate connexion between her own intereſts and thoſe of that party, had ſupported the king of Navarre by her negociations in Germany, and by large ſums of money, which ſhe remitted for levying forces in that country. This great prince, not diſcouraged by the ſuperiority of his enemies, took the field; and, in the year 1587, gained at Coutras a complete victory over the army of the French king; but, as his allies the Germans were at the ſame time diſcomfited by the army of the league under the duke of Guiſe, his ſituation, notwithſtanding his victory, ſeemed ſtill as deſperate as ever. The chief advantage which he reaped by this diverſity of ſucceſs aroſe from the diſſenſions which by that

means took place among his enemies. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with admiration of Guiſe, and ſtrongly prejudiced againſt their king, whoſe intentions had become ſuſpicious to them, took to arms, and obliged Henry to fly for his ſafety. That prince, diſſembling his reſentment, entered into a negociation with the league; and, having conferred many high offices on Guiſe and his partiſans, ſummoned an aſſembly of the ſtates at Blois, on pretence of finding expedients to ſupport the intended war againſt the hugonots.

MURDER OF THE DUKE OF GUISE.

The various ſcenes of perfidy and cruelty, which had been exhibited in France, had juſtly begotten a mutual diffidence among all parties; yet Guiſe, truſting more to the timidity than honour of the king, raſhly put himſelf into the hands of that monarch; and expected, by the aſcendant of his own genius, to make him ſubmit to all his exorbitant pretenſions. Henry, though of an eaſy diſpoſition, not ſteady to his reſolutions, or even to his promiſes, wanted neither courage nor capacity; and, finding all his ſubtilties eluded by the vigour of Guiſe, and even his throne expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, he embraced more violent counſels than were natural to him, and ordered that prince and his brother, the cardinal of Guiſe, to be aſſaſſinated in his palace.

This cruel execution, which the neceſſity of it alone could excuſe, had nearly proved fatal to the author, and ſeemed at firſt to plunge him into greater dangers than thoſe which he ſought to avoid by taking vengeance on his enemy. The partiſans of the league were inflamed with the utmoſt rage againſt him; the populace every where, particularly at Paris, renounced allegiance to him; the eccleſiaſtics and the preachers filled all places with

execrations againſt his name; and the moſt powerful cities, and moſt opulent provinces, appeared to combine in a reſolution, either of renouncing monarchy, or of changing their monarch. Henry, finding ſlender reſources among his catholic ſubjects, was conſtrained to enter into a confederacy with the hugonots and the king of Navarre: he enliſted large bodies of Swiſs infantry and German cavalry; and, being ſtill ſupported by his chief nobility, he aſſembled, by all theſe means, an army of near forty thouſand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, ready to cruſh the league, and ſubdue all his enemies.

MURDER OF HENRY THE THIRD.

THE deſperate reſolution of one man diverted the courſe of theſe great events. Jaques Clement, a Dominican friar, inflamed by that bloody ſpirit of bigotry which diſtinguiſhes this century, and a great part of the following, beyond all ages of the world, embraced the reſolution of ſacrificing his own life, in order to ſave the church from the perſecutions of a heretical tyrant; and, being admitted, under ſome pretext, to the king's preſence, he gave that prince a mortal wound, and was immediately put to death by the courtiers, who haſtily revenged the murder of their ſovereign. This memorable incident happened on the firſt of Auguſt 1589.

The king of Navarre, next heir to the crown, aſſumed the government by the title of Henry IV; but ſucceeded to much greater difficulties than thoſe which ſurrounded his predeceſſor. The prejudices entertained againſt his religion made a great part of the nobility immediately deſert him; and it was only by his promiſe of hearkening to conferences and inſtruction that he could engage any of the catholics to adhere to his undoubted title. The league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother

to Guiſe, gathered new force; and the king of Spain entertained views, either of diſmembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances Henry addreſſed himſelf to Elizabeth, and found her well diſpoſed to contribute to his aſſiſtance, and to oppoſe the progreſs of the catholic league, and of Philip, her inveterate and dangerous enemies. To prevent the deſertion of his Swiſs and German auxiliaries, ſhe made him a preſent of twenty-two thouſand pounds; a greater ſum than, as he declared, he had ever ſeen before: and ſhe ſent him a reinforcement of four thouſand men, under lord Willoughby, an officer of reputation, who joined the French at Dieppe. Strengthened by theſe ſupplies, Henry marched directly to Paris; and, having taken the ſuburbs ſword in hand, he abandoned them to be pillaged by his ſoldiers. He employed this body of Engliſh in many other enterpriſes; and ſtill found reaſon to praiſe their courage and fidelity. The time of their ſervice being elapſed, he diſmiſſed them with many high commendations. Sir William Drury, ſir Thomas Baſkerville, and ſir John Boroughs, acquired reputation this campaign, and revived in France the ancient fame of Engliſh valour.

PROGRESS OF HENRY THE FOURTH.

The army, which Henry next campaign led into the field, was much inferior to that of the league; but, as it was compoſed of the chief nobility of France, he feared not to encounter his enemies in a pitched battle at Yvree, and he gained a complete victory over them. This ſucceſs enabled him to blockade Paris, and he reduced that capital to the laſt extremity of famine; when the duke of Parma, in conſequence of orders from Philip, marched to the relief of the league, and obliged Henry to raiſe the blockade. Having performed this important ſervice, he re-

treated to the Low Countries; and, by his conſummate ſkill in the art of war, performed theſe long marches in the face of the enemy, without affording the French monarch that opportunity which he ſought, of giving him battle, or ſo much as once putting his army in diſorder. The only loſs which he ſuſtained was in the Low Countries; where prince Maurice took advantage of his abſence, and recovered ſome places which the duke of Parma had formerly conquered from the States.[d]

The ſituation of Henry's affairs, though promiſing, was not ſo well advanced or eſtabliſhed as to make the queen diſcontinue her ſuccours, and ſhe was ſtill more confirmed in the reſolution of ſupporting him by ſome advantages gained by the king of Spain. The duke of Mercœur, governor of Brittany, a prince of the houſe of Lorraine, had declared for the league; and, finding himſelf hard preſſed by Henry's forces, he had been obliged, in order to ſecure himſelf, to introduce ſome Spaniſh troops into the ſeaport towns of that province. Elizabeth was alarmed at the danger; and foreſaw that the Spaniards, beſides infeſting the Engliſh commerce by privateers, might employ theſe harbours as the ſeat of their naval preparations, and might more eaſily from that vicinity, than from Spain or Portugal, project an invaſion of England. She concluded, therefore, a new treaty with Henry, in which ſhe engaged to ſend over three thouſand men, to be employed in the reduction of Brittany; and ſhe ſtipulated that her charges ſhould, in a twelvemonth, or as ſoon as the enemy was expelled, be refunded her.[e] Theſe forces were commanded by ſir John Norris, and under him by his brother Henry, and by Anthony Shirley. Sir Roger Williams was at the head of a ſmall body which garriſoned Dieppe; and a ſquadron of ſhips, under the command of ſir Henry Palmer, lay upon the coaſt of France, and intercepted all the veſſels belonging to the Spaniards or the leaguers.

The operations of war can very little be regulated beforehand by any treaty or agreement; and Henry, who found it neceſſary to lay aſide the projected enterpriſe againſt Brittany, perſuaded the Engliſh commanders to join his army, and to take a ſhare in the hoſtilities which he carried into Picardy.[f] Notwithſtanding the diſguſt which Elizabeth received from this diſappointment, he laid before her a plan for expelling the leaguers from Normandy, and perſuaded her to ſend over a new body of four thouſand men to aſſiſt him in that enterpriſe. The earl of Eſſex was appointed general of theſe forces; a young nobleman who, by many exterior accompliſhments, and ſtill more real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Elizabeth, and ſeemed to occupy that place in her affections which Leiceſter, now deceaſed, had ſo long enjoyed. Eſſex, impatient for military fame, was extremely uneaſy to lie ſome time at Dieppe unemployed; and, had not the orders which he received from his miſtreſs been ſo poſitive, he would gladly have accepted of Henry's invitation, and have marched to join the French army now in Champagne. This plan of operations was alſo propoſed to Elizabeth by the French ambaſſador; but ſhe rejected it with great diſpleaſure; and ſhe threatened immediately to recall her troops if Henry ſhould perſevere any longer in his preſent practice of breaking all concert with her, and attending to nothing but his own intereſts.[g] Urged by theſe motives, the French king at laſt led his army into Normandy, and laid ſiege to Rouen, which he reduced to great difficulties. But the league, unable of themſelves to take the field againſt him, had again recourſe to the duke of Parma, who received orders to march to their relief. He executed this enterpriſe with his uſual abilities and ſucceſs; and, for the preſent, fruſtrated all the projects of Henry and Elizabeth. This princeſs, who kept ſtill in view the intereſts of her own kingdom in all her foreign tranſactions, was impatient

under theſe diſappointments, blamed Henry for his negligence in the execution of treaties, and complained that the Engliſh forces were thruſt foremoſt in every hazardous enterpriſe.[h] It is probable, however, that their own ardent courage, and their deſire of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in ſo celebrated a theatre of war, were the cauſes why they ſo often enjoyed this perilous honour.

Notwithſtanding the indifferent ſucceſs of former enterpriſes, the queen was ſenſible how neceſſary it was to ſupport Henry againſt the league and the Spaniards; and ſhe formed a new treaty with him, in which they agreed never to make peace with Philip but by common conſent; ſhe promiſed to ſend him a new ſupply of four thouſand men; and he ſtipulated to repay her charges in a twelvemonth, to employ theſe forces, joined to a body of French troops, in an expedition againſt Brittany, and to conſign into her hands a ſeaport town of that province, for a retreat to the Engliſh.[i] Henry knew the impoſſibility of executing ſome of theſe articles, and the imprudence of fulfilling others; but, finding them rigidly inſiſted on by Elizabeth, he accepted of her ſuccours, and truſted that he might eaſily, on ſome pretence, be able to excuſe his failure in executing his part of the treaty. This campaign was the leaſt ſucceſsful of all thoſe which he had yet carried on againſt the league.

NAVAL ENTERPRISES AGAINST SPAIN. 1591.

During theſe military operations in France Elizabeth employed her naval power againſt Philip, and endeavoured to intercept his Weſt Indian treaſures, the ſource of that greatneſs which rendered him ſo formidable to all his neighbours. She ſent a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, under the command of lord Thomas Howard, for this ſervice; but the king of Spain, informed of her

purpoſe, fitted out a great force of fifty-five ſail, and diſpatched them to eſcort the Indian fleet. They fell in with the Engliſh ſquadron; and, by the courageous obſtinacy of ſir Richard Grenville, the vice-admiral, who refuſed to make his eſcape by flight, they took one veſſel, the firſt Engliſh ſhip of war that had yet fallen into the hands of the Spaniards.[k] The reſt of the ſquadron returned ſafely into England; fruſtrated of their expectations, but pleaſing themſelves with the idea that their attempt had not been altogether fruitleſs in hurting the enemy. The Indian fleet had been ſo long detained in the Havanna from the fear of the Engliſh, that they were obliged at laſt to ſet ſail in an improper ſeaſon, and moſt of them periſhed by ſhipwreck ere they reached the Spaniſh harbours.[l] The earl of Cumberland made a like unſucceſsful enterpriſe againſt the Spaniſh trade. He carried out one ſhip of the queen's, and ſeven others equipped at his own expenſe; but the prizes which he made did not compenſate the charges.[m]

The ſpirit of theſe expenſive and hazardous adventures was very prevalent in England. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had enjoyed great favour with the queen, finding his intereſt to decline, determined to recover her good graces by ſome important undertaking; and, as his reputation was high among his countrymen, he perſuaded great numbers to engage with him as volunteers in an attempt on the Weſt Indies. The fleet was detained ſo long in the channel by contrary winds, that the ſeaſon was loſt; Raleigh was recalled by the queen; ſir Martin Frobiſher ſucceeded to the command, and made a privateering voyage againſt the Spaniards. He took one rich carrack near the iſland of Flores, and deſtroyed another.[n] About the ſame time Thomas White, a Londoner, took two Spaniſh ſhips, which, beſides fourteen hundred cheſts of quickſilver, contained above two millions of bulls for indulgences; a commodity uſeleſs to the Eng-

liſh, but which had coſt the king of Spain three hundred thouſand florins, and would have been ſold by him in the Indies for five millions.

A PARLIAMENT. 1593.

THIS war did great damage to Spain; but it was attended with conſiderable expenſe to England; and Elizabeth's miniſters computed that, ſince the commencement of it, ſhe had ſpent in Flanders and France, and on her naval expeditions, above one million two hundred thouſand pounds;° a charge which, notwithſtanding her extreme frugality, was too burdenſome for her narrow revenues to ſupport. She ſummoned therefore a parliament, in order to obtain ſupply: but ſhe either thought her authority ſo eſtabliſhed that ſhe needed to make them no conceſſions in return, or ſhe rated her power and prerogative above money; for there never was any parliament whom ſhe treated in a more haughty manner, whom ſhe made more ſenſible of their own weakneſs, or whoſe privileges ſhe more openly violated. When the ſpeaker, ſir Edward Coke, made the three uſual requeſts, of freedom from arreſts, of acceſs to her perſon, and of liberty of ſpeech, ſhe replied to him by the mouth of Puckering, lord keeper, that liberty of ſpeech was granted to the commons, but they muſt know what liberty they were entitled to; not a liberty for every one to ſpeak what he liſteth, or what cometh in his brain to utter; their privilege extended no farther than a liberty of Aye or No: that ſhe enjoined the ſpeaker, if he perceived any idle heads ſo negligent of their own ſafety as to attempt reforming the church, or innovating in the commonwealth, that he ſhould refuſe the bills exhibited for that purpoſe till they were examined by ſuch as were fitter to conſider of theſe things, and could better judge of them: that ſhe

would not impeach the freedom of their perſons; but they muſt beware leſt, under colour of this privilege, they imagined that any neglect of their duty could be covered or protected: and that ſhe would not refuſe them acceſs to her perſon, provided it were upon urgent and weighty cauſes, and at times convenient, and when ſhe might have leiſure from other important affairs of the realm.[p]

Notwithſtanding the menacing and contemptuous air of this ſpeech, the intrepid and indefatigable Peter Wentworth, not diſcouraged by his former ill ſucceſs, ventured to tranſgreſs the imperial orders of Elizabeth. He preſented to the lord keeper a petition, in which he deſired the upper houſe to join with the lower in a ſupplication to her majeſty for entailing the ſucceſſion of the crown; and he declared that he had a bill ready prepared for that purpoſe. This method of proceeding was ſufficiently reſpectful and cautious; but the ſubject was always extremely diſagreeable to the queen, and what ſhe had expreſsly prohibited any one from meddling with: ſhe ſent Wentworth immediately to the tower; committed ſir Thomas Bromley, who had ſeconded him, to the Fleet priſon, together with Stevens and Welſh, two members to whom ſir Thomas had communicated his [q] intention. About a fortnight after a motion was made in the houſe to petition the queen for the releaſe of theſe members; but it was anſwered, by all the privy counſellors there preſent, that her majeſty had committed them for cauſes beſt known to herſelf, and that to preſs her on that head would only tend to the prejudice of the gentlemen whom they meant to ſerve; ſhe would releaſe them whenever ſhe thought proper, and would be better pleaſed to do it of her own proper motion than from their ſuggeſtion.[r] The houſe willingly acquieſced in this reaſoning.

So arbitrary an act, at the commencement of the ſeſſion, might well repreſs all farther attempts for freedom: but the religious

zeal of the puritans was not ſo eaſily reſtrained; and it inſpired a courage which no human motive was able to ſurmount. Morrice, chancellor of the duchy, and attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redreſſing the abuſes in the biſhops' courts; but, above all, in the high commiſſion; where ſubſcriptions, he ſaid, were exacted to articles at the pleaſure of the prelates; where oaths were impoſed, obliging perſons to anſwer to all queſtions without diſtinction, even though they ſhould tend to their own condemnation; and where every one who refuſed entire ſatisfaction to the commiſſioners was impriſoned, without relief or remedy.[s] This motion was ſeconded by ſome members; but the miniſters and privy counſellors oppoſed it, and foretold the conſequences which enſued. The queen ſent for the ſpeaker; and, after requiring him to deliver to her Morrice's bill, ſhe told him that it was in her power to call parliaments, in her power to diſſolve them, in her power to give aſſent or diſſent to any determination which they ſhould form: that her purpoſe in ſummoning this parliament was twofold; to have laws enacted for the farther enforcement of uniformity in religion, and to provide for the defence of the nation againſt the exorbitant power of Spain: that theſe two points ought, therefore, to be the object of their deliberations: ſhe had enjoined them already, by the mouth of the lord keeper, to meddle neither with matters of ſtate nor religion; and ſhe wondered how any one could be ſo aſſuming as to attempt a ſubject ſo expreſsly contrary to her prohibition: that ſhe was highly offended with this preſumption; and took the preſent opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require that no bill, regarding either ſtate affairs or reformation in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, be exhibited in the houſe: and that, in particular, ſhe charged the ſpeaker, upon his allegiance, if any ſuch bills were offered, abſolutely to refuſe them a reading, and not ſo much as permit them to be

debated by the members.[t] This command from the queen was ſubmitted to without farther queſtion. Morrice was ſeized in the houſe itſelf by a ſerjeant at arms, diſcharged from his office of chancellor of the duchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profeſſion as a common lawyer, and kept ſome years priſoner in Tilbury caſtle.[u]

The queen having thus expreſsly pointed out both what the houſe ſhould and ſhould not do, the commons were as obſequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They paſſed a law againſt recuſants; ſuch a law as was ſuited to the ſevere character of Elizabeth, and to the perſecuting ſpirit of the age. It was intitled, 'An act to retain her majeſty's ſubjects in their due obedience;' and was meant, as the preamble declares, to obviate ſuch inconveniences and perils as might grow from the wicked practices of ſeditious ſectaries and diſloyal perſons: for theſe two ſpecies of criminals were always, at that time, confounded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of ſociety. It was enacted that any perſon above ſixteen years of age, who obſtinately refuſed during the ſpace of a month to attend public worſhip, ſhould be committed to priſon; that, if, after being condemned for this offence, he perſiſt three months in his refuſal, he muſt abjure the realm; and that, if he either refuſe this condition or return after baniſhment, he ſhould ſuffer capitally as a felon without benefit of clergy.[x] This law bore equally hard upon the puritans and upon the catholics; and, had it not been impoſed by the queen's authority, was certainly, in that reſpect, much contrary to the private ſentiments and inclinations of the majority in the houſe of commons: very little oppoſition, however, appears there to have been openly made to it.[y]

The expenſes of the war with Spain having reduced the queen to great difficulties, the grant of ſubſidies ſeems to have been

the moſt important buſineſs of this parliament; and it was a ſignal proof of the high ſpirit of Elizabeth that, while conſcious of a preſent dependance on the commons, ſhe opened the ſeſſion with the moſt haughty treatment of them, and covered her weakneſs under ſuch a lofty appearance of ſuperiority. The commons readily voted two ſubſidies and four fifteenths; but this ſum not appearing ſufficient to the court, an unuſual expedient was fallen upon to induce them to make an enlargement in their conceſſions. The peers informed the commons, in a conference, that they could not give their aſſent to the ſupply voted, thinking it too ſmall for the queen's occaſions: they therefore propoſed a grant of three ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths; and deſired a farther conference, in order to perſuade the commons to agree to this meaſure. The commons, who had acquired the privilege of beginning bills of ſubſidy, took offence at this procedure of the lords, and at firſt abſolutely rejected the propoſal: but, being afraid, on reflection, that they had by this refuſal given offence to their ſuperiors, they both agreed to the conference, and afterwards voted the additional ſubſidy.[z]

The queen, notwithſtanding this unuſual conceſſion of the commons, ended the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, containing ſome reprimands to them, and full of the ſame high pretenſions which ſhe had aſſumed at the opening of the parliament. She took notice, by the mouth of the keeper, that certain members ſpent more time than was neceſſary, by indulging themſelves in harangues and reaſonings: and ſhe expreſſed her diſpleaſure on account of their not paying due reverence to privy counſellors, 'who,' ſhe told them, 'were not to be accounted as common knights and burgeſſes of the houſe, who are counſellors but during the parliament; whereas the others are ſtanding counſellors, and for their wiſdom and great ſervice are called to the council of the ſtate.' The queen alſo, in her own perſon, made

the parliament a ſpirited harangue; in which ſhe ſpoke of the juſtice and moderation of her government, expreſſed the ſmall ambition ſhe had ever entertained of making conqueſts, diſplayed the juſt grounds of her quarrel with the king of Spain, and diſcovered how little ſhe apprehended the power of that monarch, even though he ſhould make a greater effort againſt her than that of his invincible Armada. 'But I am informed,' added ſhe, 'that when he attempted this laſt invaſion ſome upon the ſea coaſt forſook their towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and expoſed to his entrance: but I ſwear unto you, by God, if I knew thoſe perſons, or may know of any that ſhall do ſo hereafter, I will make them feel what it is to be ſo fearful in ſo urgent [b] a cauſe.' By this menace ſhe probably gave the people to underſtand that ſhe would execute martial law upon ſuch cowards; for there was no ſtatute by which a man could be puniſhed for changing his place of abode.

The king of France, though he had hitherto made war on the league with great bravery and reputation, though he had this campaign gained conſiderable advantages over them, and though he was aſſiſted by a conſiderable body of Engliſh under Norris, who carried hoſtilities into the heart of Brittany, was become ſenſible that he never could by force of arms alone render himſelf maſter of his kingdom. The nearer he ſeemed by his military ſucceſſes to approach to a full poſſeſſion of the throne, the more diſcontent and jealouſy aroſe among thoſe Romaniſts who adhered to him; and a party was formed in his own court to elect ſome catholic monarch of the royal blood, if Henry ſhould any longer refuſe to ſatisfy them by declaring his converſion. This excellent prince was far from being a bigot to his ſect; and, as he deemed theſe theological diſputes entirely ſubordinate to the public good, he had ſecretly determined, from the beginning, to come ſome time or other to the reſolution re-

quired of him. He had found, on the death of his predeceſſor, that the hugonots, who formed the braveſt and moſt faithful part of his army, were ſuch determined zealots that, if he had at that time abjured their faith, they would inſtantly have abandoned him to the pretenſions and uſurpations of the catholics. The more bigoted catholics, he knew, particularly thoſe of the league, had entertained ſuch an unſurmountable prejudice againſt his perſon, and diffidence of his ſincerity, that even his abjuration would not reconcile them to his title; and he muſt either expect to be entirely excluded from the throne, or be admitted to it on ſuch terms as would leave him little more than the mere ſhadow of royalty. In this delicate ſituation he had reſolved to temporiſe; to retain the hugonots by continuing in the profeſſion of their religion; to gain the moderate catholics by giving them hopes of his converſion; to attach both to his perſon by conduct and ſucceſs; and he hoped either that the animoſity ariſing from war againſt the league would make them drop gradually the queſtion of religion, or that he might in time, after ſome victories over his enemies and ſome conferences with divines, make finally, with more decency and dignity, that abjuration, which muſt have appeared at firſt mean as well as ſuſpicious to both parties.

HENRY IV EMBRACES THE CATHOLIC RELIGION.

When the people are attached to any theological tenets, merely from a general perſuaſion or prepoſſeſſion, they are eaſily induced, by any motive or authority, to change their faith in theſe myſterious ſubjects; as appears from the example of the Engliſh, who, during ſome reigns, uſually embraced, without ſcruple, the ſtill varying religion of their ſovereigns. But the French nation, where principles had ſo long been diſplayed as the badges of

faction, and where each party had fortified its belief by an animoſity againſt the other, were not found ſo pliable or inconſtant; and Henry was at laſt convinced that the catholics of his party would entirely abandon him if he gave them not immediate ſatisfaction in this particular. The hugonots alſo, taught by experience, clearly ſaw that his deſertion of them was become abſolutely neceſſary for the public ſettlement; and ſo general was this perſuaſion among them, that, as the duke of Sully pretends, even the divines of that party purpoſely allowed themſelves to be worſted in the diſputes and conferences, that the king might more readily be convinced of the weakneſs of their cauſe, and might more cordially and ſincerely, at leaſt more decently, embrace the religion which it was ſo much his intereſt to believe. If this ſelf-denial in ſo tender a point ſhould appear incredible and ſupernatural in theologians, it will at leaſt be thought very natural that a prince ſo little inſtructed in theſe matters as Henry, and deſirous to preſerve his ſincerity, ſhould inſenſibly bend his opinion to the neceſſity of his affairs, and ſhould believe that party to have the beſt arguments who could alone put him in poſſeſſion of a kingdom. All circumſtances, therefore, being prepared for this great event, that monarch renounced the proteſtant religion, and was ſolemnly received by the French prelates of his party into the boſom of the church.

Elizabeth, who was herſelf attached to the proteſtants, chiefly by her intereſts and the circumſtances of her birth, and who ſeems to have entertained ſome propenſity during her whole life to the catholic ſuperſtition, at leaſt to the ancient ceremonies, yet pretended to be extremely diſpleaſed with this abjuration of Henry; and ſhe wrote him an angry letter, reproaching him with this intereſted change of his religion. Senſible, however, that the league and the king of Spain were ſtill their common enemies, ſhe hearkened to his apologies; continued her ſuccours

both of men and money; and formed a new treaty, in which they mutually ſtipulated never to make peace but by common agreement.

SCOTCH AFFAIRS.

THE intrigues of Spain were not limited to France and England: by means of the never-failing pretence of religion, joined to the influence of money, Philip excited new diſorders in Scotland, and gave freſh alarms to Elizabeth. George Ker, brother to lord Newbottle, had been taken, while he was paſſing ſecretly into Spain; and papers were found about him, by which a dangerous conſpiracy of ſome catholic noblemen with Philip was diſcovered. The earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, the heads of three potent families, had entered into a confederacy with the Spaniſh monarch: and had ſtipulated to raiſe all their forces; to join them to a body of Spaniſh troops, which Philip promiſed to ſend into Scotland; and, after re-eſtabliſhing the catholic religion in that kingdom, to march with their united power in order to effect the ſame purpoſe in England.[c] Graham of Fintry, who had alſo entered into this conſpiracy, was taken, and arraigned, and executed. Elizabeth ſent lord Borough ambaſſador into Scotland, and exhorted the king to exerciſe the ſame ſeverity on the three earls; to confiſcate their eſtates, and, by annexing them to the crown, both increaſe his own demeſnes, and ſet an example to all his ſubjects of the dangers attending treaſon and rebellion. The advice was certainly rational, but not eaſy to be executed by the ſmall revenue and limited authority of James. He deſired, therefore, ſome ſupply from her of men and money; but, though ſhe had reaſon to deem the proſecution of the three popiſh earls a common cauſe, ſhe never could be prevailed on to grant him the leaſt aſſiſtance. The tenth part of the expenſe, which ſhe beſtowed in ſupporting the French king

and the States, would have ſufficed to execute this purpoſe, more immediately eſſential to her ſecurity:[d] but ſhe ſeems ever to have born ſome degree of malignity to James, whom ſhe hated both as her heir and as the ſon of Mary, her hated rival and competitor.

So far from giving James aſſiſtance to proſecute the catholic conſpirators, the queen rather contributed to increaſe his inquietude, by countenancing the turbulent diſpoſition of the earl of Bothwel,[e] a nobleman deſcended from a natural ſon of James V. Bothwel more than once attempted to render himſelf maſter of the king's perſon; and, being expelled the kingdom for theſe traiterous enterpriſes, he took ſhelter in England, was ſecretly protected by the queen, and lurked near the borders, where his power lay, with a view of ſtill committing ſome new violence. He ſucceeded at laſt in an attempt on the king; and, by the mediation of the Engliſh ambaſſador, impoſed diſhonourable terms upon that prince. But James, by the authority of the convention of ſtates, annulled this agreement as extorted by violence; again expelled Bothwel, and obliged him to take ſhelter in England. Elizabeth, pretending ignorance of the place of his retreat, never executed the treaties, by which ſhe was bound to deliver up all rebels and fugitives to the king of Scotland. During theſe diſorders, increaſed by the refractory diſpoſition of the eccleſiaſtics, the proſecution of the catholic earls remained in ſuſpenſe; but at laſt the parliament paſſed an act of attainder againſt them, and the king prepared himſelf to execute it by force of arms. The noblemen, though they obtained a victory over the earl of Argyle, who acted by the king's commiſſion, found themſelves hard preſſed by James himſelf, and agreed on certain terms to leave the kingdom. Bothwel, being detected in a confederacy with them, forfeited the favour of Elizabeth, and was obliged to take ſhelter firſt in

France, then in Italy, where he died ſome years after in great poverty.

The eſtabliſhed authority of the queen ſecured her from all ſuch attempts as James was expoſed to from the mutinous diſpoſition of his ſubjects; and her enemies found no other means of giving her domeſtic diſturbance than by ſuch traiterous and perfidious machinations as ended in their own diſgrace, and in the ruin of their criminal inſtruments. Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, domeſtic phyſician to the queen, being impriſoned on ſuſpicion, confeſſed that he had received a bribe to poiſon her from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had ſucceeded Parma, lately deceaſed, in the government of the Netherlands; but he maintained that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money, and never meant to fulfil his engagement. He was, however, executed for the conſpiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of theſe diſhonourable attempts of his miniſters, but could obtain no ſatisfaction.[f] York and Williams, two Engliſh traitors, were afterwards executed for a conſpiracy with Ibarra, equally atrocious.[g]

Inſtead of avenging herſelf, by retaliating in a like manner, Elizabeth ſought a more honourable vengeance, by ſupporting the king of France, and aſſiſting him in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the converſion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with ſpeedy ruin and diſſolution. Norris commanded the Engliſh forces in Brittany, and aſſiſted at the taking of Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Breſt, towns garriſoned by Spaniſh forces. In every action the Engliſh, though they had ſo long enjoyed domeſtic peace, diſcovered a ſtrong military diſpoſition; and the queen, though herſelf a heroine, found more frequent occaſion to reprove her generals for encouraging their temerity, than for countenancing their fear or caution:[h] ſir Martin Frobiſher, her bravè admiral, periſhed with

many others before Breſt. Morlaix had been promiſed to the Engliſh for a place of retreat; but the duke d'Aumont, the French general, eluded this promiſe, by making it be inſerted in the capitulation that none but catholics ſhould be admitted into that city.

Next campaign the French king, who had long carried on hoſtilities with Philip, was at laſt provoked, by the taking of Chatelet and Dourlens, and the attack of Cambray, to declare war againſt that monarch. Elizabeth, being threatened with a new invaſion in England, and with an inſurrection in Ireland, recalled moſt of her forces, and ſent Norris to command in this latter kingdom. Finding alſo that the French league was almoſt entirely diſſolved, and that the moſt conſiderable leaders had made an accommodation with their prince, ſhe thought that he could well ſupport himſelf by his own force and valour; and ſhe began to be more ſparing in his cauſe of the blood and treaſure of her ſubjects.

Some diſguſts which ſhe had received from the States, joined to the remonſtrances of her frugal miniſter Burleigh, made her alſo inclined to diminiſh her charges on that ſide; and ſhe even demanded, by her ambaſſador ſir Thomas Bodley, to be reimburſed all the money which ſhe had expended in ſupporting them. The States, beſides alledging the conditions of the treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her till the concluſion of a peace, pleaded their preſent poverty and diſtreſs, the great ſuperiority of the Spaniards, and the difficulty in ſupporting the war; much more in ſaving money to diſcharge their incumbrances. After much negociation, a new treaty was formed; by which the States engaged to free the queen immediately from the charge of the Engliſh auxiliaries, computed at forty thouſand pounds a year; to pay her annually twenty thouſand pounds for ſome years; to aſſiſt her with a certain number of ſhips; and

to conclude no peace or treaty without her conſent. They alſo bound themſelves, on finiſhing a peace with Spain, to pay her annually the ſum of a hundred thouſand pounds for four years; but on this condition, that the payment ſhould be in lieu of all demands, and that they ſhould be ſupplied, though at their own charge, with a body of four thouſand auxiliaries from England.[1]

The queen ſtill retained in her hands the cautionary towns, which were a great check on the riſing power of the States; and ſhe committed the important truſt of Fluſhing to ſir Francis Vere, a brave officer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour in the Low Countries. She gave him the preference to Eſſex, who expected ſo honourable a command; and, though this nobleman was daily riſing both in reputation with the people and favour with herſelf, the queen, who was commonly reſerved in the advancement of her courtiers, thought proper on this occaſion to give him a refuſal. Sir Thomas Baſkerville was ſent over to France at the head of two thouſand Engliſh, with which Elizabeth, by a new treaty concluded with Henry, engaged to ſupply that prince. Some ſtipulations for mutual aſſiſtance were formed by the treaty, and all former engagements were renewed.

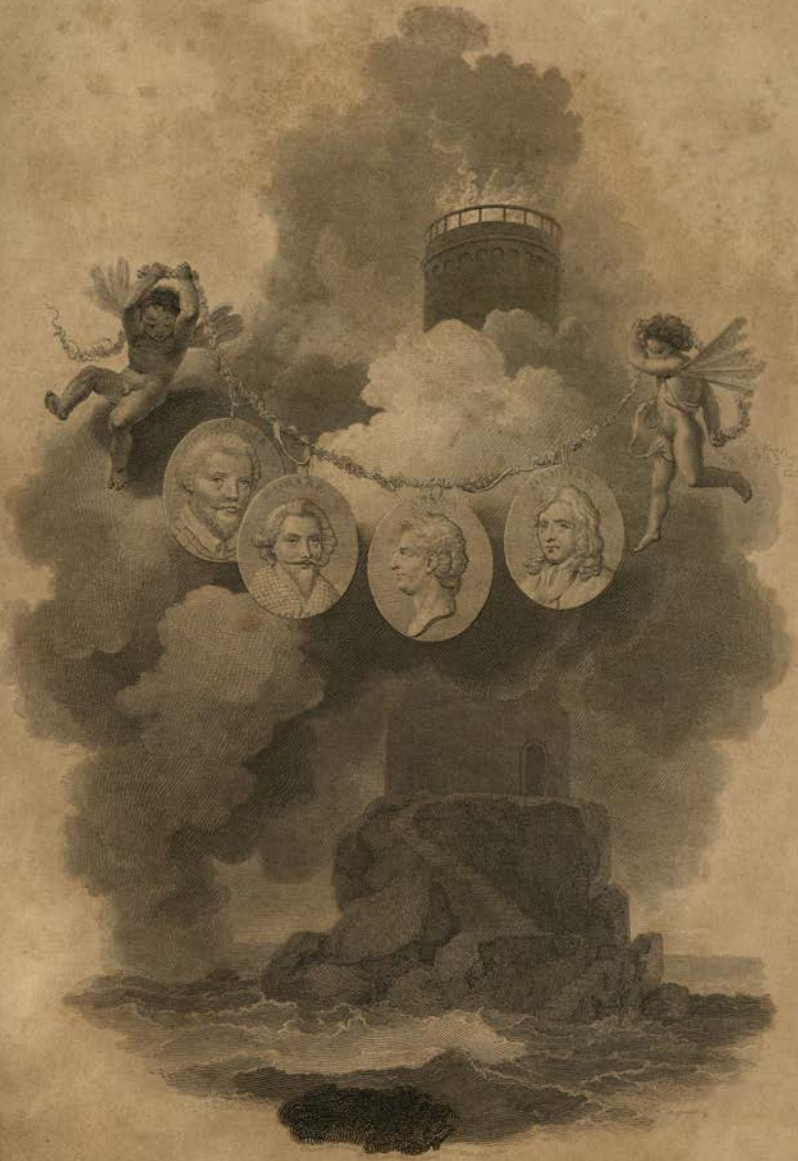
This body of Engliſh were maintained at the expenſe of the French king; yet did Henry eſteem the ſupply of conſiderable advantage, on account of the great reputation acquired by the Engliſh, in ſo many fortunate enterpriſes undertaken againſt the common enemy. In the great battle of Tournholt, gained this campaign by prince Maurice, the Engliſh auxiliaries, under ſir Francis Vere and ſir Robert Sydney, had acquired honour; and the ſucceſs of that day was univerſally aſcribed to their diſcipline and valour.

NAVAL ENTERPRISES. 1597.

THOUGH Elizabeth, at a conſiderable expenſe of blood and treaſure, made war againſt Philip in France and the Low Countries, the moſt ſevere blows which ſhe gave him were by thoſe naval enterpriſes, which either ſhe or her ſubjects ſcarcely ever intermitted during one ſeaſon. In 1594 Richard Hawkins, ſon of ſir John, the famous navigator, procured the queen's commiſſion, and ſailed with three ſhips to the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan: but his voyage proved unfortunate, and he himſelf was taken priſoner on the coaſt of Chili. James Lancaſter was ſupplied the ſame year with three ſhips and a pinnace by the merchants of London; and was more fortunate in his adventure. He took thirty-nine ſhips of the enemy; and, not content with this ſucceſs, made an attack on Fernambouc in Brazil, where he knew great treaſures were at that time lodged. As he approached the ſhore he ſaw it lined with great numbers of the enemy; but, nowiſe daunted at this appearance, he placed the ſtouteſt of his men in boats, and ordered them to row with ſuch violence on the landing place as to ſplit them in pieces. By this bold action he both deprived his men of all reſource but in victory, and terrified the enemy, who fled after a ſhort reſiſtance. He returned home with the treaſure which he had ſo bravely acquired. In 1595 ſir Walter Raleigh, who had anew forfeited the queen's friendſhip by an intrigue with a maid of honour, and who had been thrown into priſon for this miſdemeanor, no ſooner recovered his liberty than he was puſhed, by his active and enterpriſing genius, to attempt ſome great action. The ſucceſs of the firſt Spaniſh adventurers againſt Mexico and Peru had begotten an extreme avidity in Europe; and a prepoſſeſſion univerſally took place, that in the inland parts of South

America, called Guiana, a country as yet undiſcovered, there were mines and treaſures far exceeding any which Cortes or Pizzaro had met with. Raleigh, whoſe turn of mind was ſomewhat romantic and extravagant, undertook, at his own charge, the diſcovery of this wonderful country. Having taken the ſmall town of St. Joſeph in the iſle of Trinidado, where he found no riches, he left his ſhip, and ſailed up the river Oroonoko in pinnaces, but without meeting any thing to anſwer his expectations. On his return he publiſhed an account of the country, full of the groſſeſt and moſt palpable lies that were ever attempted to be impoſed on the credulity of mankind.[k]

The ſame year ſir Francis Drake and ſir John Hawkins undertook a more important expedition againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; and they carried with them ſix ſhips of the queen's, and twenty more, which either were fitted out at their own charge, or were furniſhed them by private adventurers. Sir Thomas Baſkerville was appointed commander of the land forces, which they carried on board. Their firſt deſign was to attempt Porto Rico, where they knew a rich carrack was at that time ſtationed; but, as they had not preſerved the requiſite ſecreſy, a pinnace, having ſtrayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intentions of the Engliſh. Preparations were made in that iſland for their reception; and the Engliſh fleet, notwithſtanding the brave aſſault which they made on the enemy, was repulſed with loſs. Hawkins ſoon after died; and Drake purſued his voyage to Nombre di Dios, on the iſthmus of Darien; where, having landed his men, he attempted to paſs forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place, or, if he found ſuch a ſcheme practicable, of keeping and fortifying it. But he met not with the ſame facility which had attended his firſt enterpriſes in thoſe parts. The Spaniards, taught by experience, had every where fortified the paſſes, and had ſta-



tioned troops in the woods; who ſo infeſted the Engliſh, by continual alarms and ſkirmiſhes, that they were obliged to return without being able to effect any thing. Drake himſelf, from the intemperance of the climate, the fatigues of his journey, and the vexation of his diſappointment, was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he ſoon after died. Sir Thomas Baſkerville took the command of the fleet, which was in a weak condition; and, after having fought a battle near Cuba with a Spaniſh fleet, of which the event was not deciſive, he returned to England. The Spaniards ſuffered ſome loſs from this enterpriſe, but the Engliſh reaped no profit.[l]

The bad ſucceſs of this enterpriſe in the Indies made the Engliſh rather attempt the Spaniſh dominions in Europe, where they heard Philip was making great preparations for a new invaſion of England. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, conſiſting of a hundred and ſeventy veſſels, ſeventeen of which were capital ſhips of war, the reſt tenders and ſmall veſſels: twenty ſhips were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were computed to be embarked ſix thouſand three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers, a thouſand volunteers, and ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-two ſeamen, beſide the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Eſſex; the navy by lord Effingham, high admiral. Both theſe commanders had expended great ſums of their own in the armament; for ſuch was the ſpirit of Elizabeth's reign. Lord Thomas Howard, ſir Walter Raleigh, ſir Francis Vere, ſir George Carew, and ſir Coniers Clifford, had commands in this expedition, and were appointed council to the general and admiral.[m]

The fleet ſet ſail on the firſt of June 1596; and, meeting with a fair wind, bent its courſe to Cadiz; at which place, by ſealed orders delivered to all the captains, the general rendezvous was appointed. They ſent before them ſome armed tenders, which

intercepted every ſhip that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themſelves were ſo fortunate, when they came near Cadiz, as to take an Iriſh veſſel, by which they learned that that port was full of merchant ſhips of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect ſecurity, without any apprehenſions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the Engliſh fleet, and gave them the proſpect of a fortunate iſſue to the enterpriſe.

After a fruitleſs attempt to land at St. Sebaſtian's, on the weſtern ſide of the iſland of Cadiz, it was, upon deliberation, reſolved by the council of war to attack the ſhips and gallies in the bay. This attempt was deemed raſh; and the admiral himſelf, who was cautious in his temper, had entertained great ſcruples with regard to it: but Eſſex ſtrenuouſly recommended the enterpriſe; and, when he found the reſolution at laſt taken, he threw his hat into the ſea, and gave ſymptoms of the moſt extravagant joy. He felt, however, a great mortification, when Effingham informed him that the queen, anxious for his ſafety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had ſecretly given orders that he ſhould not be permitted to command the van in the attack.[n] That duty was performed by ſir Walter Raleigh and lord Thomas Howard. But Eſſex no ſooner came within reach of the enemy than he forgot the promiſe which the admiral had exacted from him, to keep in the midſt of the fleet; he broke through, and preſſed forward into the thickeſt of the fire. Emulation for glory, avidity of plunder, animoſity againſt the Spaniards, proved incentives to every one; and the enemy was ſoon obliged to ſlip anchor and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ſhips aground. Eſſex then landed his men at the fort of Puntal; and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz, which the impetuous valour of the Engliſh ſoon carried ſword in hand. The generoſity of Eſſex,

not inferior to his valour, made him ſtop the ſlaughter, and treat his priſoners with the greateſt humanity, and even affability and kindneſs. The Engliſh made rich plunder in the city; but miſſed of a much richer by the reſolution which the duke of Medina, the Spaniſh admiral, took of ſetting fire to the ſhips, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It was computed that the loſs which the Spaniards ſuſtained in this enterpriſe amounted to twenty millions of ducats;[o] beſides the indignity which that proud and ambitious people ſuffered from the ſacking of one of their chief cities, and deſtroying in their harbour a fleet of ſuch force and value.

Eſſex, all on fire for glory, regarded this great ſucceſs only as a ſtep to future achievements: he inſiſted on keeping poſſeſſion of Cadiz; and he undertook, with four hundred men and three months proviſions, to defend the place till ſuccours ſhould arrive from England. But all the other ſeamen and ſoldiers were ſatisfied with the honour which they had acquired; and were impatient to return home, in order to ſecure their plunder. Every other propoſal of Eſſex to annoy the enemy met with a like reception; his ſcheme for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, for aſſaulting the Groine, for taking St. Andero and St. Sebaſtian: and the Engliſh, finding it ſo difficult to drag this impatient warrior from the enemy, at laſt left him on the Spaniſh coaſt, attended by a very few ſhips. He complained much to the queen of their want of ſpirit in this enterpriſe; nor was ſhe pleaſed that they had returned without attempting to intercept the Indian fleet.[p] But the great ſucceſs in the enterpriſe of Cadiz had covered all their miſcarriages: and that princeſs, though ſhe admired the lofty genius of Eſſex, could not forbear expreſſing an eſteem for the other officers.[q] The admiral was created earl of Nottingham; and his promotion gave great diſguſt to Eſſex.[r] In the preamble of the patent it was ſaid that

the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good ſervices in taking Cadiz, and deſtroying the Spaniſh ſhips; a merit which Eſſex pretended to belong ſolely to himſelf: and he offered to maintain this plea by ſingle combat againſt the earl of Nottingham, or his ſons, or any of his kindred.

The achievements in the ſubſequent year proved not ſo fortunate; but, as the Indian fleet very narrowly eſcaped the Engliſh, Philip had ſtill reaſon to ſee the great hazard and diſadvantages of that war in which he was engaged, and the ſuperiority which the Engliſh, by their naval power and their ſituation, had acquired over him. The queen, having received intelligence that the Spaniards, though their fleets were ſo much ſhattered and deſtroyed by the expedition to Cadiz, were preparing a ſquadron at Ferrol and the Groine, and were marching troops thither with a view of making a deſcent in Ireland, was reſolved to prevent their enterpriſe, and to deſtroy the ſhipping in theſe harbours. She prepared a large fleet of a hundred and twenty ſail, of which ſeventeen were her own ſhips, forty-three were ſmaller veſſels, and the reſt tenders and victuallers: ſhe embarked on board this fleet five thouſand new-levied ſoldiers, and added a thouſand veteran troops, whom ſir Francis Vere brought from the Netherlands. The earl of Eſſex, commander in chief both of the land and ſea forces, was at the head of one ſquadron; lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another; ſir Walter Raleigh of the third; lord Mountjoy commanded the land forces under Eſſex; Vere was appointed marſhal; ſir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and ſir Chriſtopher Blount firſt colonel. The earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, embarked as volunteers. Eſſex declared his reſolution either to deſtroy the new Armada which threatened England, or to periſh in the attempt.

This powerful fleet ſet ſail from Plymouth on the ninth of July; but were no ſooner out of harbour than they met with a furious ſtorm, which ſhattered and diſperſed them; and before they could be refitted Eſſex found that their proviſions were ſo far ſpent, that it would not be ſafe to carry ſo numerous an army along with him. He diſmiſſed therefore all the ſoldiers, except the thouſand veterans under Vere; and, laying aſide all thoughts of attacking Ferrol or the Groine, he confined the object of his expedition to the intercepting of the Indian fleet, which had at firſt been conſidered only as the ſecond enterpriſe which he was to attempt.

The Indian fleet in that age, by reaſon of the imperfection of navigation, had a ſtated courſe as well as ſeaſon, both in their going out and in their return; and there were certain iſlands at which, as at fixed ſtages, they always touched, and where they took in water and proviſions. The Azores being one of theſe places where about this time the fleet was expected, Eſſex bent his courſe thither; and he informed Raleigh that he, on his arrival, intended to attack Fayal, one of theſe iſlands. By ſome accident the ſquadrons were ſeparated; and Raleigh, arriving firſt before Fayal, thought it more prudent, after waiting ſome time for the general, to begin the attack alone, leſt the inhabitants ſhould by farther delay have leiſure to make preparations for their defence. He ſucceeded in the enterpriſe; but Eſſex, jealous of Raleigh, expreſſed great diſpleaſure at his conduct, and conſtrued it as an intention of robbing the general of the glory which attended that action: he caſhiered therefore Sydney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt; and would have proceeded to inflict the ſame puniſhment on Raleigh himſelf, had not lord Thomas Howard interpoſed with his good offices, and perſuaded Raleigh, though high-ſpirited, to make ſubmiſſions to the general. Eſſex, who

was placable as well as haſty and paſſionate, was ſoon appeaſed, and both received Raleigh into favour, and reſtored the other officers to their commands.[s] This incident, however, though the quarrel was ſeemingly accommodated, laid the firſt foundation of that violent animoſity which afterwards took place between theſe two gallant commanders.

Eſſex made next a diſpoſition proper for intercepting the Indian galleons; and ſir William Monſon, whoſe ſtation was the moſt remote of the fleet, having fallen in with them, made the ſignals which had been agreed on. That able officer, in his Memoirs, aſcribes Eſſex's failure, when he was ſo near attaining ſo mighty an advantage, to his want of experience in ſeamanſhip; and the account which he gives of the errors committed by that nobleman appears very reaſonable as well as candid.[t] The Spaniſh fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all the ſail poſſible to the Terceras, and got into the ſafe and well fortified harbour of Angra before the Engliſh fleet could overtake them. Eſſex intercepted only three ſhips; which, however, were ſo rich as to repay all the charges of the expedition.

The cauſes of the miſcarriage in this enterpriſe were much canvaſſed in England, upon the return of the fleet; and, though the courtiers took part differently, as they affected either Eſſex or Raleigh, the people in general, who bore an extreme regard to the gallantry, ſpirit, and generoſity, of the former, were inclined to juſtify every circumſtance of his conduct. The queen, who loved the one as much as ſhe eſteemed the other, maintained a kind of neutrality, and endeavoured to ſhare her favours with an impartial hand between the parties. Sir Robert Cecil, ſecond ſon of lord Burleigh, was a courtier of promiſing hopes, much connected with Raleigh; and ſhe made him ſecretary of ſtate, preferably to ſir Thomas Bodley, whom Eſſex recommended for that office. But, not to diſguſt Eſſex, ſhe promoted him to

the dignity of earl marſhal of England; an office which had been vacant ſince the death of the earl of Shrewſbury. Eſſex might perceive from this conduct that ſhe never intended to give him the entire aſcendant over his rivals, and might thence learn the neceſſity of moderation and caution. But his temper was too high for ſubmiſſion; his behaviour too open and candid to practiſe the arts of a court; and his free ſallies, while they rendered him but more amiable in the eyes of good judges, gave his enemies many advantages againſt him.

The war with Spain, though ſucceſsful, having exhauſted the queen's exchequer, ſhe was obliged to aſſemble a parliament; where Yelverton, a lawyer, was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.[a] Elizabeth took care, by the mouth of ſir Thomas Egerton, lord keeper, to inform this aſſembly of the neceſſity of a ſupply. She ſaid that the wars formerly waged in Europe had commonly been conducted by the parties without farther view than to gain a few towns, or at moſt a province, from each other; but the object of the preſent hoſtilities, on the part of Spain, was no other than utterly to bereave England of her religion, her liberty, and her independence: that theſe bleſſings, however, ſhe herſelf had hitherto been able to preſerve, in ſpite of the devil, the pope, and the Spaniſh tyrant, and all the miſchievous deſigns of all her enemies: that in this conteſt ſhe had diſburſed a ſum triple to all the parliamentary ſupplies granted her; and, beſides expending her ordinary revenues, had been obliged to ſell many of the crown lands: and that ſhe could not doubt but her ſubjects, in a cauſe where their own honour and intereſt were ſo deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to ſuch moderate taxations as ſhould be found neceſſary for the common defence.[x] The parliament granted her three ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths; the ſame ſupply which had been given four years before, but which had then appeared ſo unuſual, that they

had voted it ſhould never afterwards be regarded as a precedent.

The commons, this ſeſſion, ventured to engage in two controverſies about forms with the houſe of peers; a prelude to thoſe encroachments which, as they aſſumed more courage, they afterwards made upon the prerogatives of the crown. They complained that the lords failed in civility to them by receiving their meſſages ſitting with their hats on; and that the keeper returned an anſwer in the ſame negligent poſture: but the upper houſe proved, to their full ſatisfaction, that they were not entitled, by cuſtom and the uſage of parliament, to any more reſpect.[y] Some amendments had been made by the lords to a bill ſent up by the commons; and theſe amendments were written on parchment, and returned with the bill to the commons. The lower houſe took umbrage at the novelty: they pretended that theſe amendments ought to have been written on paper, not on parchment; and they complained of this innovation to the peers. The peers replied, that they expected not ſuch a frivolous objection from the gravity of the houſe; and that it was not material whether the amendments were written on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper were white, black, or brown. The commons were offended at this reply, which ſeemed to contain a mockery of them; and they complained of it, though without obtaining any ſatisfaction.[z]

An application was made, by way of petition, to the queen, from the lower houſe, againſt monopolies; an abuſe which had ariſen to an enormous height; and they received a gracious though a general anſwer; for which they returned their thankful acknowledgments.[a] But, not to give them too much encouragement in ſuch applications, ſhe told them, in the ſpeech which ſhe delivered at their diſſolution, that, with regard to theſe patents, ſhe hoped that her dutiful and loving ſubjects would not

take away her prerogative, which is the chief flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem; but that they would rather leave theſe matters to her diſpoſal.[b] The commons alſo took notice, this ſeſſion, of ſome tranſactions in the court of high commiſſion; but not till they had previouſly obtained permiſſion from her majeſty to that purpoſe.[c]

Elizabeth had reaſon to foreſee that parliamentary ſupplies would now become more neceſſary to her than ever; and that the chief burden of the war with Spain would thenceforth lie upon England. Henry had received an overture for peace with Philip; but, before he would proceed to a negociation, he gave intelligence of it to his allies, the queen and the States; that, if poſſible, a general pacification might be made by common agreement. Theſe two powers ſent ambaſſadors to France, in order to remonſtrate againſt peace: the queen, ſir Robert Cecil and Henry Herbert; the States, Juſtin Naſſau and John Barnevelt. Henry ſaid to theſe miniſters, that his early education had been amidſt war and danger, and he had paſſed the whole courſe of his life either in arms or in military preparations; that, after the proofs which he had given of his alacrity in the field, no one could doubt but he would willingly, for his part, have continued in a courſe of life to which he was now habituated, till the common enemy were reduced to ſuch a condition as no longer to give umbrage either to him or to his allies; that no private intereſts of his own, not even thoſe of his people, nothing but the moſt invincible neceſſity, could ever induce him to think of a ſeparate peace with Philip, or make him embrace meaſures not entirely conformable to the wiſhes of all his confederates; that his kingdom, torn with the convulſions and civil wars of near half a century, required ſome interval of repoſe ere it could reach a condition in which it might ſuſtain itſelf,

much more ſupport its allies; that, after the minds of his ſubjects were compoſed to tranquillity, and accuſtomed to obedience, after his finances were brought into order, and after agriculture and the arts were reſtored, France, inſtead of being a burden, as at preſent, to her confederates, would be able to lend them effectual ſuccour, and amply to repay them all the aſſiſtance which ſhe had received during her calamities; and that, if the ambition of Spain would not at preſent grant them ſuch terms as they ſhould think reaſonable, he hoped that in a little time he ſhould attain ſuch a ſituation as would enable him to mediate more effectually, and with more deciſive authority, in their behalf.

PEACE OF VERVINS. 1598.

THE ambaſſadors were ſenſible that theſe reaſons were not feigned; and they therefore remonſtrated with the leſs vehemence againſt the meaſures which they ſaw Henry was determined to purſue. The States knew that that monarch was intereſted never to permit their final ruin; and, having received private aſſurances that he would ſtill, notwithſtanding the peace, give them aſſiſtance both of men and money, they were well pleaſed to remain on terms of amity with him. His greateſt concern was to give ſatisfaction to Elizabeth for this breach of treaty. He had a cordial eſteem for that princeſs, a ſympathy of manners, and a gratitude for the extraordinary favours which he had received from her during his greateſt difficulties; and he uſed every expedient to apologize and atone for that meaſure which neceſſity extorted from him. But, as Spain refuſed to treat with the Dutch as a free ſtate, and Elizabeth would not negociate without her ally, Henry found himſelf obliged to conclude at Vervins a ſeparate peace, by which he recovered poſ-

ſeſſion of all the places ſeized by Spain during the courſe of the civil wars, and procured to himſelf leiſure to purſue the domeſtic ſettlement of his kingdom. His capacity for the arts of peace was not inferior to his military talents; and in a little time, by his frugality, order, and wiſe government, he raiſed France, from the deſolation and miſery in which ſhe was involved, to a more flouriſhing condition than ſhe had ever before enjoyed.

The queen knew that ſhe could alſo, whenever ſhe pleaſed, finiſh the war on equitable terms; and that Philip, having no claims upon her, would be glad to free himſelf from an enemy who had foiled him in every conteſt, and who ſtill had it ſo much in her power to make him feel the weight of her arms. Some of her wiſeſt counſellors, particularly the treaſurer, adviſed her to embrace pacific meaſures; and ſet before her the advantages of tranquillity, ſecurity, and frugality, as more conſiderable than any ſucceſs which could attend the greateſt victories. But this high-ſpirited princeſs, though at firſt adverſe to war, ſeemed now to have attained ſuch an aſcendant over the enemy, that ſhe was unwilling to ſtop the courſe of her proſperous fortune. She conſidered that her ſituation and her paſt victories had given her entire ſecurity againſt any dangerous invaſion; and the war muſt thenceforth be conducted by ſudden enterpriſes and naval expeditions, in which ſhe poſſeſſed an undoubted ſuperiority: that the weak condition of Philip in the Indies opened to her the view of the moſt durable advantages; and the yearly return of his treaſure by ſea afforded a continual proſpect of important, though more temporary, ſucceſſes: that, after his peace with France, if ſhe alſo ſhould conſent to an accommodation, he would be able to turn his whole force againſt the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, which, though they had ſurpriſingly increaſed their power by commerce and good

government, were ſtill unable, if not ſupported by their confederates, to maintain war againſt ſo potent a monarch: and that, as her defence of that commonwealth was the original ground of the quarrel, it was unſafe as well as diſhonourable to abandon its cauſe till ſhe had placed it in a ſtate of greater ſecurity.

THE EARL OF ESSEX.

THESE reaſons were frequently inculcated on her by the earl of Eſſex, whoſe paſſion for glory, as well as his military talents, made him earneſtly deſire the continuance of war, from which he expected to reap ſo much advantage and diſtinction. The rivalſhip between this nobleman and lord Burleigh made each of them inſiſt the more ſtrenuouſly on his own counſel; but, as Eſſex's perſon was agreeable to the queen, as well as his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favourite ſeemed daily to acquire an aſcendant over the miniſter. Had he been endowed with caution and ſelf-command equal to his ſhining qualities, he would have ſo riveted himſelf in the queen's confidence, that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit: but his lofty ſpirit could ill ſubmit to that implicit deference which her temper required, and which ſhe had ever been accuſtomed to receive from all her ſubjects. Being once engaged in a diſpute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was ſo heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility; and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, roſe at this provocation; and ſhe inſtantly gave him a box on the ear, adding a paſſionate expreſſion ſuited to his impertinence. Inſtead of recollecting himſelf, and making the ſubmiſſions due to her ſex and ſtation, he clapped his hand to his ſword, and ſwore that he would not bear ſuch uſage, were it

from Henry VIII himſelf; and he immediately withdrew from court. Egerton the chancellor, who loved Eſſex, exhorted him to repair his indiſcretion by proper acknowledgments; and entreated him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which muſt enſue from his ſupporting a conteſt with his ſovereign, and deſerting the ſervice of his country: but Eſſex was deeply ſtung with the diſhonour which he had received; and ſeemed to think that an inſult, which might be pardoned in a woman, was become a mortal affront when it came from his ſovereign. 'If the vileſt of all indignities,' ſaid he, 'is done me, does religion enforce me to ſue for pardon? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot princes err? Cannot ſubjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, my lord, I can never ſubſcribe to theſe principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is ſtricken; let thoſe that mean to make their profit of princes ſhew no ſenſe of princes' injuries: let them acknowledge an infinite abſoluteneſs on earth that do not believe an abſolute infiniteneſs in heaven' (alluding probably to the character and conduct of ſir Walter Raleigh, who lay under the reproach of impiety): 'as for me,' continued he, 'I have received wrong, I feel it: my cauſe is good, I know it; and, whatſoever happens, all the powers on earth can never exert more ſtrength and conſtancy in oppreſſing, than I can ſhew in ſuffering every thing that can or ſhall be impoſed upon me. Your lordſhip, in the beginning of your letter, makes me a player, and yourſelf a looker on: and me a player of my own game; ſo you may ſee more than I: but give me leave to tell you that, ſince you do but ſee, and I do ſuffer, I muſt of neceſſity [d] feel more than you.'

This ſpirited letter was ſhewn by Eſſex to his friends; and they were ſo imprudent as to diſperſe copies of it: yet, notwithſtanding this additional provocation, the queen's partiality was ſo

prevalent, that ſhe reinſtated him in his former favour; and her kindneſs to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this ſhort interval of anger and reſentment. The death of Burleigh, his antagoniſt, which happened about the ſame time, ſeemed to enſure him conſtant poſſeſſion of the queen's confidence; and nothing indeed but his own indiſcretion could thenceforth have ſhaken his well-eſtabliſhed credit. Lord Burleigh died in an advanced age; and, by a rare fortune, was equally regretted by his ſovereign and the people. He had riſen gradually, from ſmall beginnings, by the mere force of merit; and, though his authority was never entirely abſolute or uncontrolled with the queen, he was ſtill, during the courſe of near forty years, regarded as her principal miniſter. None of her other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in ſo uſeful a counſellor; and, as he had had the generoſity or good ſenſe to pay aſſiduous court to her during her ſiſter's reign, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, ſhe thought herſelf bound in gratitude, when ſhe mounted the throne, to perſevere in her attachments to him. He ſeems not to have poſſeſſed any ſhining talents of addreſs, eloquence, or imagination; and was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by ſolidity of underſtanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in buſineſs; virtues which, if they do not always enable a man to attain high ſtations, do certainly qualify him beſt for filling them. Of all the queen's miniſters he alone left a conſiderable fortune to his poſterity; a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppreſſion, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preſerved by frugality.

The laſt act of this able miniſter was the concluding of a new treaty with the Dutch; who, after being in ſome meaſure deſerted by the king of France, were glad to preſerve the queen's alliance by ſubmitting to any terms which ſhe pleaſed to require of them. The debt which they owed her was now ſettled at

eight hundred thouſand pounds: of this ſum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thouſand pounds a year; and theſe payments were to continue till four hundred thouſand pounds of the debt ſhould be extinguiſhed. They engaged alſo, during the time that England ſhould continue the war with Spain, to pay the garriſons of the cautionary towns. They ſtipulated that, if Spain ſhould invade England, or the Iſle of Wight or Jerſey, or Scilly, they ſhould aſſiſt her with a body of five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; and that, in caſe ſhe undertook any naval armament againſt Spain, they ſhould join an equal number of ſhips to her's.[e] By this treaty the queen was eaſed of an annual charge of a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds.

Soon after the death of Burleigh the queen, who regretted extremely the loſs of ſo wiſe and faithful a miniſter, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II; who, after languiſhing under many infirmities, expired in an advanced age at Madrid. This haughty prince, deſirous of an accommodation with his revolted ſubjects in the Netherlands, but diſdaining to make in his own name the conceſſions neceſſary for that purpoſe, had transferred to his daughter, married to archduke Albert, the title to the Low Country provinces; but, as it was not expected that this princeſs could have poſterity, and as the reverſion on failure of her iſſue was ſtill reſerved to the crown of Spain, the States conſidered this deed only as the change of a name, and they perſiſted with equal obſtinacy in their reſiſtance to the Spaniſh arms. The other powers alſo of Europe made no diſtinction between the courts of Bruſſels and Madrid; and the ſecret oppoſition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate againſt the progreſs of Albert as it had done againſt that of Philip.

CHAPTER XLIV.

ELIZABETH.

STATE OF IRELAND....TYRONE'S REBELLION....ESSEX SENT OVER TO IRELAND....HIS ILL SUCCESS....RETURNS TO ENGLAND....IS DISGRACED....HIS INTRIGUES....HIS INSURRECTION....HIS TRIAL ....AND EXECUTION....FRENCH AFFAIRS....MOUNTJOY'S SUCCESS IN IRELAND....DEFEAT OF THE SPANIARDS AND IRISH....A PARLIAMENT....TYRONE'S SUBMISSION....QUEEN'S SICKNESS AND DEATH....HER CHARACTER.

STATE OF IRELAND. 1599.

THOUGH the dominion of the Engliſh over Ireland had been ſeemingly eſtabliſhed above four centuries, it may ſafely be affirmed that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Iriſh princes and nobles, divided among themſelves, readily paid the exterior marks of obeiſance to a power which they were not able to reſiſt; but, as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in their duty, they relapſed ſtill into their former ſtate of independence. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the Engliſh authority was yet ſufficient to check the growth of any enterpriſing genius among the natives: and, though it could be-

ſtow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the riſe of any ſuch form from the internal combination or policy of the Iriſh.[a]

Moſt of the Engliſh inſtitutions, likewiſe, by which that iſland was governed, were to the laſt degree abſurd, and ſuch as no ſtate before had ever thought of, for preſerving dominion over its conquered provinces.

The Engliſh nation, all on fire for the project of ſubduing France; a project whoſe ſucceſs was the moſt improbable, and would to them have proved the moſt pernicious; neglected all other enterpriſes, to which their ſituation ſo ſtrongly invited them, and which in time would have brought them an acceſſion of riches, grandeur, and ſecurity. The ſmall army which they maintained in Ireland they never ſupplied regularly with pay; and, as no money could be levied on the iſland, which poſſeſſed none, they gave their ſoldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and inſolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: want of ſecurity among the Iriſh introducing deſpair, nouriſhed ſtill more the ſloth natural to that uncultivated people.

But the Engliſh carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Inſtead of inviting the Iriſh to adopt the more civilized cuſtoms of their conquerors, they even refuſed, though earneſtly ſolicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of juſtice, the natives could find no ſecurity but in force; and, flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with ſafety, they ſheltered themſelves in their marſhes and foreſts from the inſolence of their inhuman maſters. Being treated like wild beaſts, they became ſuch; and, joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous.[b]

As the Engliſh princes deemed the conqueſt of the diſperſed Iriſh to be more the object of time and patience than the ſource of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who, inliſting ſoldiers at their own charge, reduced provinces of that iſland, which they converted to their own profit. Separate juriſdictions and principalities were eſtabliſhed by theſe lordly conquerors: the power of peace and war was aſſumed: military law was exerciſed over the Iriſh, whom they ſubdued; and by degrees over the Engliſh, by whoſe aſſiſtance they conquered: and, after their authority had once taken root, deeming the Engliſh inſtitutions leſs favourable to barbarous dominion, they degenerated into mere Iriſh, and abandoned the garb, language, manners, and laws, of their mother country.[c]

By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependent ſtate remained ſtill in that abject condition into which the northern and weſtern parts of Europe were ſunk, before they received civility and ſlavery from the refined policy and irreſiſtible bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the ſixteenth century, when every Chriſtian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that iſland, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile ſoil, acceſſible in its ſituation, poſſeſſed of innumerable harbours, was ſtill, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, inhabited by a people whoſe cuſtoms and manners approached nearer thoſe of ſavages than of barbarians.[d]

As the rudeneſs and ignorance of the Iriſh were extreme, they were ſunk below the reach of that curioſity and love of novelty by which every other people in Europe had been ſeized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious diſputes, with which they were ſtill ſo violently agitated. The ancient ſuperſtition, the practices and obſervances of their fathers, mingled and polluted with many wild opinions, ſtill maintained an unſhaken empire over them;

and the example alone of the Engliſh was ſufficient to render the reformation odious to the prejudiced and diſcontented Iriſh. The old oppoſition of manners, laws, and intereſt, was now inflamed by religious antipathy; and the ſubduing and civilizing of that country ſeemed to become every day more difficult and more impracticable.

The animoſity againſt the Engliſh was carried ſo far by the Iriſh, that, in an inſurrection raiſed by two ſons of the earl of Claricarde, they put to the ſword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Iriſh; becauſe they began to conform themſelves to Engliſh cuſtoms, and had embraced a more civilized form of life than had been practiſed by their anceſtors.

The uſual revenue of Ireland amounted only to ſix thouſand pounds a year:[e] the queen, though with much repining,[f] commonly added twenty thouſand more, which ſhe remitted from England: and with this ſmall revenue a body of a thouſand men was ſupported, which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to two thouſand.[g] No wonder that a force ſo diſproportioned to the object, inſtead of ſubduing a mutinous kingdom, ſerved rather to provoke the natives, and to excite thoſe frequent inſurrections, which ſtill farther inflamed the animoſity between the two nations, and increaſed the diſorders to which the Iriſh were naturally ſubject.

In 1560 Shan O'Neale, or the great O'Neale, as the Iriſh called him, becauſe head of that potent clan, raiſed a rebellion in Ulſter; but, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, he was received into favour upon his ſubmiſſion, and his promiſe of a more dutiful behaviour for the future.[h] This impunity tempted him to undertake a new inſurrection in 1567; but, being puſhed by ſir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, he retreated into Clandeboy; and, rather than ſubmit to the Engliſh, he put himſelf into the hands of ſome Scottiſh iſlanders who commonly infeſted thoſe parts by their incurſions.

The Scots, who retained a quarrel againſt him on account of former injuries, violated the laws of hoſpitality, and murdered him at a feſtival to which they had invited him. He was a man equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries, and his hatred to the Engliſh nation. He is ſaid to have put ſome of his followers to death becauſe they endeavoured to introduce the uſe of bread after the Engliſh faſhion.[j] Though ſo violent an enemy to luxury, he was extremely addicted to riot; and was accuſtomed, after his intemperance had thrown him into a fever, to plunge his body into mire, that he might allay the flame which he had raiſed by former exceſſes.[k] Such was the life led by this haughty barbarian, who ſcorned the title of the earl of Tyrone, which Elizabeth intended to have reſtored to him, and who aſſumed the rank and appellation of king of Ulſter. He uſed alſo to ſay that, though the queen was his ſovereign lady, he never made peace with her but at her ſeeking.[l]

Sir Henry Sidney was one of the wiſeſt and moſt active governors that Ireland had enjoyed for ſeveral reigns;[m] and he poſſeſſed his authority eleven years; during which he ſtruggled with many difficulties, and made ſome progreſs in repreſſing thoſe diſorders which had become inveterate among the people. The earl of Deſmond, in 1569, gave him diſturbance, from the hereditary animoſity which prevailed between that nobleman and the earl of Ormond, deſcended from the only family eſtabliſhed in Ireland that had ſteadily maintained its loyalty to the Engliſh crown.[n] The earl of Thomond, in 1570, attempted a rebellion in Connaught, but was obliged to fly into France before his deſigns were ripe for execution. Stukely, another fugitive, found ſuch credit with the pope, Gregory the XIIIth, that he flattered that pontiff with the proſpect of making his nephew, Buon Compagno, king of Ireland; and, as if this project had already taken effect, he accepted the title of marquis of Leiceſter from the

new ſovereign.[o] He paſſed next into Spain; and, after having received much encouragement and great rewards from Philip, who intended to employ him as an inſtrument in diſturbing Elizabeth, he was found to poſſeſs too little intereſt for executing thoſe high promiſes which he had made to that monarch. He retired into Portugal; and, following the fortunes of don Sebaſtian, he periſhed with that gallant prince in his bold but unfortunate expedition againſt the Moors.

Lord Gray, after ſome interval, ſucceeded to the government of Ireland; and in 1579 ſuppreſſed a new rebellion of the earl of Deſmond, though ſupported by a body of Spaniards and Italians. The rebellion of the Bourks followed a few years after; occaſioned by the ſtrict and equitable adminiſtration of ſir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, who endeavoured to repreſs the tyranny of the chieftains over their vaſſals.[p] The queen, finding Ireland ſo burdenſome to her, tried ſeveral expedients for reducing it to a ſtate of greater order and ſubmiſſion. She encouraged the earl of Eſſex, father to that nobleman who was afterwards her favourite, to attempt the ſubduing and planting of Clandeboy, Ferny, and other territories, part of ſome late forfeitures: but that enterpriſe proved unfortunate; and Eſſex died of a diſtemper occaſioned, as is ſuppoſed, by the vexation which he had conceived from his diſappointments. An univerſity was founded in Dublin, with a view of introducing arts and learning into that kingdom, and civilizing the uncultivated manners of the inhabitants.[q] But the moſt unhappy expedient employed in the government of Ireland was that made uſe of in 1585 by ſir John Perrot, at that time lord deputy: he put arms into the hands of the Iriſh inhabitants of Ulſter, in order to enable them, without the aſſiſtance of the government, to repreſs the incurſions of the Scottiſh iſlanders, by which theſe parts were much infeſted.[r] At the ſame time the invitations of Philip, joined

to their zeal for the catholic religion, engaged many of the gentry to ſerve in the Low Country wars: and thus Ireland, being provided with officers and ſoldiers, with diſcipline and arms, became formidable to the Engliſh, and was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war againſt her ancient maſters.

TYRONE'S REBELLION.

Hugh O'Neale, nephew to Shan O'Neale, had been raiſed by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but, having murdered his couſin, ſon of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licenſe and dominion to the pleaſures of opulence and tranquillity, and he fomented all thoſe diſorders by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the Engliſh government. He was noted for the vices of perfidy and cruelty, ſo common among uncultivated nations; and was alſo eminent for courage, a virtue which their diſorderly courſe of life requires, and which notwithſtanding, being leſs ſupported by the principle of honour, is commonly more precarious among them than among a civilized people. Tyrone, actuated by this ſpirit, ſecretly fomented the diſcontents of the Maguires, O'Donnels, O'Rourks, Macmahons, and other rebels; yet, truſting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and profeſſions, he put himſelf into the hands of ſir William Ruſſel, who, in the year 1594, was ſent over deputy to Ireland. Contrary to the advice and proteſtation of ſir Henry Bagnal, marſhal of the army, he was diſmiſſed; and, returning to his own country, he embraced the reſolution of raiſing an open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the Engliſh government. He entered into a correſpondence with Spain; he procured thence a ſupply of arms and ammunition; and, having united all the Iriſh chieftains in a depend-

ance upon himſelf, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy.

The native Iriſh were ſo poor, that their country afforded few other commodities than cattle and oatmeal, which were eaſily concealed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and, as Elizabeth was averſe to the expenſe requiſite for ſupporting her armies, the Engliſh found much difficulty in puſhing their advantages, and in purſuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other faſtneſſes, to which they retreated. Theſe motives rendered ſir John Norris, who commanded the Engliſh army, the more willing to hearken to any propoſals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and, after the war was ſpun out by theſe artifices for ſome years, that gallant Engliſhman, finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promiſes, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient reputation, was ſeized with a languiſhing diſtemper, and died of vexation and diſcontent. Sir Henry Bagnal, who ſucceeded him in the command, was ſtill more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Blackwater, beſieged by the rebels, he was ſurrounded in diſadvantageous ground; his ſoldiers, diſcouraged by part of their powder's accidentally taking fire, were put to flight; and, though the purſuit was ſtopped by Montacute, who commanded the Engliſh horſe, fifteen hundred men, together with the general himſelf, were left dead upon the ſpot. This victory, ſo unuſual to the Iriſh, rouſed their courage, ſupplied them with arms and ammunition, and raiſed the reputation of Tyrone, who aſſumed the character of 'the deliverer of his country,' and patron of Iriſh liberty.'

The Engliſh council were now ſenſible that the rebellion of Ireland was come to a dangerous head, and that the former temporizing arts of granting truces and pacifications to the rebels, and of allowing them to purchaſe pardons by reſigning part

of the plunder acquired during their inſurrection, ſerved only to encourage the ſpirit of mutiny and diſorder among them. It was therefore reſolved to puſh the war by more vigorous meaſures; and the queen caſt her eye on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as a man who, though hitherto leſs accuſtomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed, ſhe thought, with talents equal to the undertaking.

ESSEX SENT OVER TO IRELAND.

But the young earl of Eſſex, ambitious of fame, and deſirous of obtaining this government for himſelf, oppoſed the choice of Mountjoy; and repreſented the neceſſity of appointing for that important employment ſome perſon more experienced in war than this nobleman, more practiſed in buſineſs, and of higher quality and reputation. By this deſcription he was underſtood to mean himſelf;[t] and no ſooner was his deſire known than his enemies, even more zealouſly than his friends, conſpired to gratify his wiſhes. Many of his friends thought that he never ought to conſent, except for a ſhort time, to accept of any employment which muſt remove him from court, and prevent him from cultivating that perſonal inclination which the queen ſo viſibly bore him.[u] His enemies hoped that, if by his abſence ſhe had once leiſure to forget the charms of his perſon and converſation, his impatient and lofty demeanour would ſoon diſguſt a princeſs who uſually exacted ſuch profound ſubmiſſion and implicit obedience from all her ſervants. But Eſſex was incapable of entering into ſuch cautious views; and even Elizabeth, who was extremely deſirous of ſubduing the Iriſh rebels, and who was much prepoſſeſſed in favour of Eſſex's genius, readily agreed to appoint him governor of Ireland, by the title of lord lieutenant. The more to encourage him in his undertaking, ſhe

granted him by his patent more extenſive authority than had ever before been conferred on any lieutenant; the power of carrying on or finiſhing the war as he pleaſed, of pardoning the rebels, and of filling all the moſt conſiderable employments of the kingdom.[x] And, to enſure him of ſucceſs, ſhe levied a numerous army of ſixteen thouſand foot and thirteen hundred horſe, which ſhe afterwards augmented to twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe: a force which, it was apprehended, would be able in one campaign to overwhelm the rebels, and make an entire conqueſt of Ireland. Nor did Eſſex's enemies, the earl of Nottingham, ſir Robert Cecil, ſir Walter Raleigh, and lord Cobham, throw any obſtacles in the way of theſe preparations; but hoped that, the higher the queen's expectations of ſucceſs were raiſed, the more difficult it would be for the event to correſpond to them. In a like view they rather ſeconded than oppoſed thoſe exalted encomiums, which Eſſex's numerous and ſanguine friends diſperſed, of his high genius, of his elegant endowments, his heroic courage, his unbounded generoſity, and his noble birth; nor were they diſpleaſed to obſerve that paſſionate fondneſs which the people every where expreſſed for this nobleman. Theſe artful politicians had ſtudied his character; and, finding that his open and undaunted ſpirit, if taught temper and reſerve from oppoſition, muſt become invincible, they reſolved rather to give full breath to thoſe fails which were already too much expanded, and to puſh him upon dangers of which he ſeemed to make ſuch ſmall account.[y] And, the better to make advantage of his indiſcretions, ſpies were ſet upon all his actions and even expreſſions; and his vehement ſpirit, which, while he was in the midſt of the court and environed by his rivals, was unacquainted with diſguiſe, could not fail, after he thought himſelf ſurrounded by none but friends, to give a pretence for malignant ſuſpicions and conſtructions.

Eſſex left London in the month of March, attended with the acclamations of the populace; and, what did him more honour, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from affection to his perſon, had attached themſelves to his fortunes, and ſought fame and military experience under ſo renowned a commander. The firſt act of authority, which he exerciſed after his arrival in Ireland, was an indiſcretion, but of the generous kind; and in both theſe reſpects ſuitable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horſe; a nobleman who had incurred the queen's diſpleaſure by ſecretly marrying without her conſent, and whom ſhe had therefore enjoined Eſſex not to employ in any command under him. She no ſooner heard of this inſtance of diſobedience than ſhe reprimanded him, and ordered him to recall his commiſſion to Southampton. But Eſſex, who had imagined that ſome reaſons which he oppoſed to her firſt injunctions had ſatisfied her, had the imprudence to remonſtrate againſt theſe ſecond orders;[z] and it was not till ſhe reiterated her commands that he could be prevailed on to diſplace his friend.

ILL SUCCESS OF ESSEX.

Essex, on his landing at Dublin, deliberated with the Iriſh council concerning the proper methods of carrying on the war againſt the rebels; and here he was guilty of a capital error, which was the ruin of his enterpriſe. He had always while in England blamed the conduct of former commanders, who artfully protracted the war, who haraſſed their troops in ſmall enterpriſes, and who, by agreeing to truces and temporary pacifications with the rebels,[a] had given them leiſure to recruit their broken forces. In conformity to theſe views, he had ever inſiſted upon leading his forces immediately into Ulſter againſt Tyrone, the chief ene-

my; and his inſtructions had been drawn agreeably to theſe his declared reſolutions. But the Iriſh counſellors perſuaded him that the ſeaſon was too early for the enterpriſe, and that, as the moraſſes, in which the northern Iriſh uſually ſheltered themſelves, would not as yet be paſſable to the Engliſh forces, it would be better to employ the preſent time in an expedition into Munſter. Their ſecret reaſon for this advice was, that many of them poſſeſſed eſtates in that province, and were deſirous to have the enemy diſlodged from their neighbourhood:[b] but the ſame ſelfiſh ſpirit, which had induced them to give this counſel, made them ſoon after diſown it when they found the bad conſequences with which it was attended.[c]

Eſſex obliged all the rebels of Munſter either to ſubmit or to fly into the neighbouring provinces: but, as the Iriſh, from the greatneſs of the queen's preparations, had concluded that ſhe intended to reduce them to total ſubjection, or even utterly to exterminate them, they conſidered their defence as a common cauſe; and the Engliſh forces were no ſooner withdrawn than the inhabitants of Munſter relapſed into rebellion, and renewed their confederacy with their other countrymen. The army, meanwhile, by the fatigue of long and tedious marches, and by the influence of the climate, was become ſickly; and on its return to Dublin, about the middle of July, was ſurpriſingly diminiſhed in number. The courage of the ſoldiers was even much abated; for, though they had prevailed in ſome leſſer enterpriſes againſt lord Cahir and others, yet had they ſometimes met with more ſtout reſiſtance than they expected from the Iriſh, whom they were wont to deſpiſe; and, as they were raw troops and unexperienced, a conſiderable body of them had been put to flight at the Glins by an inferior number of the enemy. Eſſex was ſo enraged at this miſbehaviour, that he caſhiered all the officers, and decimated the private men.[d] But this act of ſeverity, though

neceſſary, had intimidated the ſoldiers, and increaſed their averſion to the ſervice.

The queen was extremely diſguſted when ſhe heard that ſo conſiderable a part of the ſeaſon was conſumed in theſe frivolous enterpriſes; and was ſtill more ſurpriſed that Eſſex perſevered in the ſame practice which he had ſo much condemned in others, and which he knew to be ſo much contrary to her purpoſe and intention. That nobleman, in order to give his troops leiſure to recruit from their ſickneſs and fatigue, left the main army in quarters, and marched with a ſmall body of fifteen hundred men into the county of Ophelie againſt the O'Connors and O'Mores, whom he forced to a ſubmiſſion: but, on his return to Dublin, he found the army ſo much diminiſhed, that he wrote to the Engliſh council an account of its condition, and informed them that, if he did not immediately receive a reinforcement of two thouſand men, it would be impoſſible for him this ſeaſon to attempt any thing againſt Tyrone. That there might be no pretence for farther inactivity, the queen immediately ſent over the number demanded;[e] and Eſſex began at laſt to aſſemble his forces for the expedition into Ulſter. The army was ſo averſe to this enterpriſe, and ſo terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited ſickneſs, many of them deſerted;[f] and Eſſex found that, after leaving the neceſſary garriſons, he could ſcarcely lead four thouſand men againſt the rebels. He marched, however, with this ſmall army; but was ſoon ſenſible that in ſo advanced a ſeaſon it would be impoſſible for him to effect any thing againſt an enemy who, though ſuperior in number, was determined to avoid every deciſive action. He hearkened, therefore, to a meſſage ſent him by Tyrone, who deſired a conference; and a place near the two camps was appointed for that purpoſe. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone

entered to the depth of his ſaddle; but Eſſex ſtood on the oppoſite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great ſubmiſſion to the lord lieutenant, a ceſſation of arms was concluded to the firſt of May, renewable from ſix weeks to ſix weeks; but which might be broken off by either party upon a fortnight's warning.[g] Eſſex alſo received from Tyrone propoſals for a peace, in which that rebel had inſerted many unreaſonable and exorbitant conditions; and there appeared afterwards ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that he had here commenced a very unjuſtifiable correſpondence with the enemy.[h]

So unexpected an iſſue of an enterpriſe, the greateſt and moſt expenſive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely againſt Eſſex; and this diſguſt was much augmented by other circumſtances of that nobleman's conduct. He wrote many letters to the queen and council, full of peeviſh and impatient expreſſions; complaining of his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies ſhould be believed againſt him, and diſcovering ſymptoms of a mind equally haughty and diſcontented. She took care to inform him of her diſſatisfaction; but commanded him to remain in Ireland till farther orders.

ESSEX RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

Essex heard at once of Elizabeth's anger, and of the promotion of his enemy, ſir Robert Cecil, to the office of maſter of the wards, an office to which he himſelf aſpired: and, dreading that, if he remained any longer abſent, the queen would be totally alienated from him, he haſtily embraced a reſolution which he knew had once ſucceeded with the earl of Leiceſter, the former favourite of Elizabeth. Leiceſter, being informed while in the Low Countries that his miſtreſs was extremely diſpleaſed with his conduct, diſobeyed her orders by coming over to England;

INTERVIEW BETWEEN QUEEN ELIZABETH & THE E. OF ESSEX

and, having pacified her by his preſence, by his apologies, and by his flattery and inſinuation, diſappointed all the expectations of his enemies.[i] Eſſex, therefore, weighing more the ſimilarity of circumſtances than the difference of character between himſelf and Leiceſter, immediately ſet out for England; and, making ſpeedy journies, he arrived at court before any one was in the leaſt appriſed of his intentions.[k] Though beſmeared with dirt and ſweat, he haſtened up ſtairs to the preſence chamber, thence to the privy chamber; nor ſtopped till he was in the queen's bed chamber, who was newly riſen, and was ſitting with her hair about her face. He threw himſelf on his knees, kiſſed her hand, and had ſome private conference with her; where he was ſo graciouſly received that, on his departure, he was heard to expreſs great ſatisfaction, and to thank God that, though he had ſuffered much trouble and many ſtorms abroad, he found a ſweet calm at home.[l]

ESSEX DISGRACED.

But this placability of Elizabeth was merely the reſult of her ſurpriſe, and of the momentary ſatisfaction which ſhe felt on the ſudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite: after ſhe had leiſure for recollection, all his faults recurred to her; and ſhe thought it neceſſary, by ſome ſevere diſcipline, to ſubdue that haughty imperious ſpirit, who, preſuming on her partiality, had pretended to domineer in her councils, to engroſs all her favour, and to act, in the moſt important affairs, without regard to her orders and inſtructions. When Eſſex waited on her in the afternoon he found her extremely altered in her carriage towards him: ſhe ordered him to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and, though his anſwers were calm and ſubmiſſive, ſhe committed him to the

cuſtody of lord keeper Egerton, and held him ſequeſtered from all company, even from that of his counteſs, nor was ſo much as the intercourſe of letters permitted between them. Eſſex dropped many expreſſions of humiliation and ſorrow, none of reſentment: he profeſſed an entire ſubmiſſion to the queen's will: declared his intention of retiring into the country, and of leading thenceforth a private life, remote from courts and buſineſs: but, though he affected to be ſo entirely cured of his aſpiring ambition, the vexation of this diſappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty ſpirit, and he fell into a diſtemper which ſeemed to put his life in danger.

The queen had always declared to all the world, and even to the earl himſelf, that the purpoſe of her ſeverity was to correct, not to ruin him;[m] and when ſhe heard of his ſickneſs ſhe was not a little alarmed with his ſituation. She ordered eight phyſicians of the beſt reputation and experience to conſult of his caſe; and, being informed that the iſſue was much to be apprehended, ſhe ſent Dr. James to him with ſome broth, and deſired that phyſician to deliver him a meſſage, which ſhe probably deemed of ſtill greater virtue; that, if ſhe thought ſuch a ſtep conſiſtent with her honour, ſhe would herſelf pay him a viſit. The byſtanders, who carefully obſerved her countenance, remarked that in pronouncing theſe words her eyes were ſuffuſed with tears.[n]

When the ſymptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Eſſex were known, they gave a ſenſible alarm to the faction which had declared their oppoſition to him. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, the moſt violent as well as the moſt ambitious of his enemies, was ſo affected with the appearance of this ſudden revolution, that he was ſeized with ſickneſs in his turn; and the queen was obliged to apply the ſame ſalve to his

wound, and to ſend him a favourable meſſage, expreſſing her deſire of his recovery.[o]

The medicine which the queen adminiſtered to theſe aſpiring rivals was ſucceſsful with both; and Eſſex, being now allowed the company of his counteſs, and having entertained more promiſing hopes of his future fortunes, was ſo much reſtored in his health as to be thought paſt danger. A belief was inſtilled into Elizabeth that his diſtemper had been entirely counterfeit, in order to move her compaſſion;[p] and ſhe relapſed into her former rigour againſt him. He wrote her a letter, and ſent her a rich preſent on new year's day, as was uſual with the courtiers at that time. She read the letter, but rejected the preſent.[q] After ſome interval, however, of ſeverity, ſhe allowed him to retire to his own houſe: and, though he remained ſtill under cuſtody, and was ſequeſtered from all company, he was ſo grateful for this mark of lenity, that he ſent her a letter of thanks on the occaſion. 'This farther degree of goodneſs,' ſaid he, 'doth ſound in my ears as if your majeſty ſpake theſe words, "Die not, Eſſex; for, though I puniſh thine offence, and humble thee for thy good, yet will I one day be ſerved again by thee." My proſtrate ſoul makes this anſwer: "I hope for that bleſſed day." And, in expectation of it, all my afflictions of body and mind are humbly, patiently, and cheerfully,[r] born by me.' The counteſs of Eſſex, daughter of ſir Francis Walſingham, poſſeſſed, as well as her huſband, a refined taſte in literature; and the chief conſolation which Eſſex enjoyed, during this period of anxiety and expectation, conſiſted in her company, and in reading with her thoſe inſtructive and entertaining authors which, even during the time of his greateſt proſperity, he had never entirely neglected.

There were ſeveral incidents which kept alive the queen's anger againſt Eſſex. Every account which ſhe received from Ire-

land convinced her more and more of his miſconduct in that government, and of the inſignificant purpoſes to which he had employed ſo much force and treaſure. Tyrone, ſo far from being quelled, had thought proper, in leſs than three months, to break the truce; and, joining with O'Donnel and other rebels, had overrun almoſt the whole kingdom. He boaſted that he was certain of receiving a ſupply of men, money, and arms, from Spain; he pretended to be champion of the catholic religion; and he openly exulted in the preſent of a phœnix plume, which the pope, Clement VIII, in order to encourage him in the proſecution of ſo good a cauſe, had conſecrated, and had conferred upon him.[s] The queen, that ſhe might check his progreſs, returned to her former intention of appointing Mountjoy lord deputy; and, though that nobleman, who was an intimate friend of Eſſex, and deſired his return to the government of Ireland, did at firſt very earneſtly excuſe himſelf, on account of his bad ſtate of health, ſhe obliged him to accept of the employment. Mountjoy found the iſland almoſt in a deſperate condition; but, being a man of capacity and vigour, he was ſo little diſcouraged, that he immediately advanced againſt Tyrone in Ulſter. He penetrated into the heart of that country, the chief ſeat of the rebels; he fortified Derry and Mount-Norris, in order to bridle the Iriſh; he chaſed them from the field, and obliged them to take ſhelter in the woods and moraſſes; he employed, with equal ſucceſs, ſir George Carew in Munſter; and by theſe promiſing enterpriſes he gave new life to the queen's authority in that iſland.

As the compariſon of Mountjoy's adminiſtration with that of Eſſex contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her favourite, ſhe received additional diſguſt from the partiality of the people, who, prepoſſeſſed with an extravagant idea of Eſſex's merit, complained of the injuſtice done him by his removal from court,

and by his confinement. Libels were ſecretly diſperſed againſt Cecil and Raleigh, and all his enemies: and his popularity, which was always great, ſeemed rather to be increaſed than diminiſhed by his misfortunes. Elizabeth, in order to juſtify to the public her conduct with regard to him, had often expreſſed her intentions of having him tried in the ſtar chamber for his offences: but her tenderneſs for him prevailed at laſt over her ſeverity; and ſhe was contented to have him only examined by the privy council. The attorney-general, Coke, opened the cauſe againſt him, and treated him with the cruelty and inſolence which that great lawyer uſually exerciſed againſt the unfortunate. He diſplayed, in the ſtrongeſt colours, all the faults committed by Eſſex in his adminiſtration of Ireland: his making Southampton general of the horſe, contrary to the queen's injunctions; his deſerting the enterpriſe againſt Tyrone, and marching to Leinſter and Munſter; his conferring knighthood on too many perſons; his ſecret conference with Tyrone; and his ſudden return from Ireland, in contempt of her majeſty's commands. He alſo exaggerated the indignity of the conditions which Tyrone had been allowed to propoſe; 'odious and abominable conditions,' ſaid he; 'a public toleration of an idolatrous religion, pardon for himſelf and every traitor in Ireland, and full reſtitution of lands and poſſeſſions' to all of them.' The ſolicitor-general, Fleming, inſiſted upon the wretched ſituation in which the earl had left that kingdom; and Francis, ſon of ſir Nicholas Bacon, who had been lord-keeper in the beginning of the preſent reign, cloſed the charge with diſplaying the undutiful expreſſions contained in ſome letters written by the earl.

Eſſex, when he came to plead in his own defence, renounced, with great ſubmiſſion and humility, all pretenſions to an apology;[a] and declared his reſolution never, on this or any other occaſion, to have any conteſt with his ſovereign. He ſaid that,

having ſevered himſelf from the world, and abjured all ſentiments of ambition, he had no ſcruple to confeſs every failing or error into which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities, might have betrayed him; that his inward ſorrow for his offences againſt her majeſty was ſo profound, that it exceeded all his outward croſſes and afflictions; nor had he any ſcruple of ſubmitting to a public confeſſion of whatever ſhe had been pleaſed to impute to him; that in his acknowledgments he retained only one reſerve, which he never would relinquiſh but with his life, the aſſertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earneſt deſire ever to perform to her majeſty the beſt ſervice which his poor abilities would permit; and that, if this ſentiment were allowed by the council, he willingly acquieſced in any condemnation or ſentence which they could pronounce againſt him. This ſubmiſſion was uttered with ſo much eloquence, and in ſo pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience.[x] All the privy counſellors, in giving their judgment, made no ſcruple of doing the earl juſtice with regard to the loyalty of his intentions. Even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity. And the ſentence pronounced by the lord-keeper (to which the council aſſented) was in theſe words: 'If this cauſe,' ſaid he, 'had been heard in the ſtar chamber, my ſentence muſt have been for as great a fine as ever was ſet upon any man's head in that court, together with perpetual confinement in that priſon which belongeth to a man of his quality, the tower. But, ſince we are now in another place, and in a courſe of favour, my cenſure is, that the earl of Eſſex is not to execute the office of a counſellor, nor that of earl marſhal of England, nor of maſter of the ordnance; and to return to his own houſe, there to continue a priſoner[y] till it ſhall pleaſe her majeſty to releaſe this and all the reſt of his ſentence.' The earl of Cumberland made a ſlight

oppoſition to this ſentence; and ſaid that, if he thought it would ſtand, he would have required a little more time to deliberate; that he deemed it ſomewhat ſevere; and that any commander in chief might eaſily incur a like penalty. 'But, however,' added he, 'in confidence of her majeſty's mercy, I agree with the reſt.' The earl of Worceſter delivered his opinion in a couple of Latin verſes; importing that, where the gods are offended, even misfortunes ought to be imputed as crimes, and that accident is no excuſe for tranſgreſſions againſt the Divinity.

Bacon, ſo much diſtinguiſhed afterwards by his high offices, and ſtill more by his profound genius for the ſciences, was nearly allied to the Cecil family, being nephew to lord Burleigh, and couſin-german to the ſecretary; but, notwithſtanding his extraordinary talents, he had met with ſo little protection from his powerful relations, that he had not yet obtained any preferment in the law, which was his profeſſion. But Eſſex, who could diſtinguiſh merit, and who paſſionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendſhip with Bacon; had zealouſly attempted, though without ſucceſs, to procure him the office of ſolicitor-general; and, in order to comfort his friend under the diſappointment, had conferred on him a preſent of land to the value of eighteen hundred pounds.[z] The public could ill excuſe Bacon's appearance before the council againſt ſo munificent a benefactor, though he acted in obedience to the queen's commands; but ſhe was ſo well pleaſed with his behaviour, that ſhe impoſed on him a new taſk, of drawing a narrative of that day's proceedings, in order to ſatisfy the public of the juſtice and lenity of her conduct. Bacon, who wanted firmneſs of character more than humanity, gave to the whole tranſaction the moſt favourable turn for Eſſex; and, in particular, painted out, in elaborate expreſſion, the dutiful ſubmiſſion which that nobleman diſcovered in the defence that he made for his con-

duct. When he read the paper to her ſhe ſmiled at that paſſage, and obſerved to Bacon that old love, ſhe ſaw, could not eaſily be forgotten. He replied, that he hoped ſhe meant that of herſelf.[a]

All the world indeed expected that Eſſex would ſoon be reinſtated in his former credit;[b] perhaps, as is uſual in reconcilements founded on inclination, would acquire an additional aſcendant over the queen, and after all his diſgraces would again appear more a favourite than ever. They were confirmed in this hope when they ſaw that, though he was ſtill prohibited from appearing at court,[c] he was continued in his office of maſter of horſe, and was reſtored to his liberty, and that all his friends had acceſs to him. Eſſex himſelf ſeemed determined to perſevere in that conduct which had hitherto been ſo ſucceſsful, and which the queen, by all this diſcipline, had endeavoured to render habitual to him: he wrote to her, that he kiſſed her majeſty's hands, and the rod with which ſhe had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulneſs till ſhe deigned to admit him to that preſence which had ever been the chief ſource of his happineſs and enjoyment; and that he had now reſolved to make amends for his paſt errors, to retire into a country ſolitude, and ſay with Nebuchadnezzar, 'Let my dwelling be with the beaſts of the field; let me eat graſs as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven; till it ſhall pleaſe the queen to reſtore me to my underſtanding.' The queen was much pleaſed with theſe ſentiments, and replied that ſhe heartily wiſhed his actions might correſpond with his expreſſions; that he had tried her patience a long time, and it was but fitting ſhe ſhould now make ſome experiment of his ſubmiſſion; that her father would never have pardoned ſo much obſtinacy; but that, if the furnace of affliction produced ſuch good effects, ſhe ſhould ever after have the better opinion of her chemiſtry.[d]

The earl of Eſſex poſſeſſed a monopoly of ſweet wines; and, as his patent was near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it; and he conſidered this event as the critical circumſtance of his life which would determine whether he could ever hope to be reinſtated in credit and authority.[e] But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper ſomewhat haughty and ſevere; and, being continually ſurrounded with Eſſex's enemies, means were found to perſuade her that his lofty ſpirit was not yet ſufficiently ſubdued, and that he muſt undergo this farther trial before he could again be ſafely received into favour. She therefore denied his requeſt; and even added, in a contemptuous ſtyle, that an ungovernable beaſt muſt be ſtinted in his provender.[f]

ESSEX'S INTRIGUES. 1600.

This rigour, puſhed one ſtep too far, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was the ſource of infinite ſorrow and vexation to the queen herſelf. Eſſex, who had with great difficulty ſo long ſubdued his proud ſpirit, and whoſe patience was now exhauſted, imagining that the queen was entirely inexorable, burſt at once all reſtraints of ſubmiſſion and of prudence, and determined to ſeek relief by proceeding to the utmoſt extremities againſt his enemies. Even during his greateſt favour he had ever been accuſtomed to carry matters with a high hand towards his ſovereign; and, as this practice gratified his own temper, and was ſometimes ſucceſsful, he had imprudently imagined that it was the only proper method [g] of managing her. But, being now reduced to deſpair, he gave entire reins to his violent diſpoſition, and threw off all appearance of duty and reſpect. Intoxicated with the public favour, which he already poſſeſſed, he practiſed anew every art of popularity; and endea-

voured to increaſe the general good-will by a hoſpitable manner of life, little ſuited to his ſituation and circumſtances. His former employments had given him great connexions with men of the military profeſſion; and he now entertained, by additional careſſes and civilities, a friendſhip with all deſperate adventurers, whoſe attachment he hoped might, in his preſent views, prove ſerviceable to him. He ſecretly courted the confidence of the catholics; but his chief truſt lay in the puritans, whom he openly careſſed, and whoſe manners he ſeemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the moſt celebrated preachers of that ſect to reſort to Eſſex-houſe; he had daily prayers and ſermons in his family; and he invited all the zealots in London to attend thoſe pious exerciſes. Such was the diſpoſition now beginning to prevail among the Engliſh, that, inſtead of feaſting and public ſpectacles, the methods anciently practiſed to gain the populace, nothing ſo effectually ingratiated an ambitious leader with the public as theſe fanatical entertainments: and, as the puritanical preachers frequently inculcated in their ſermons the doctrine of reſiſtance to the civil magiſtrate, they prepared the minds of their hearers for thoſe ſeditious projects which Eſſex was ſecretly meditating.[h]

But the greateſt imprudence of this nobleman proceeded from the openneſs of his temper, by which he was ill qualified to ſucceed in ſuch difficult and dangerous enterpriſes. He indulged himſelf in great liberties of ſpeech; and was even heard to ſay of the queen, that ſhe was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body.[i] Some court ladies, whoſe favours Eſſex had formerly neglected, carried her theſe ſtories, and incenſed her to a high degree againſt him. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous on this head; and, though ſhe was now approaching to her ſeventieth year, ſhe allowed her courtiers,[k] and even foreign ambaſſadors,[l] to compliment her

upon her beauty; nor had all her good ſenſe been able to cure her of this prepoſterous vanity.[m]

There was alſo an expedient employed by Eſſex which, if poſſible, was more provoking to the queen than thoſe ſarcaſms on her age and deformity; and that was his ſecret applications to the king of Scots, her heir and ſucceſſor. That prince had this year very narrowly eſcaped a dangerous, though ill-formed, conſpiracy of the earl of Gowry; and even his deliverance was attended with this diſagreeable circumſtance, that the obſtinate eccleſiaſtics perſiſted, in ſpite of the moſt inconteſtible evidence, to maintain to his face that there had been no ſuch conſpiracy. James, haraſſed with his turbulent and factious ſubjects, caſt a wiſhful eye to the ſucceſſion of England; and, in proportion as the queen advanced in years, his deſire increaſed of mounting that throne, on which, beſides acquiring a great addition of power and ſplendour, he hoped to govern a people ſo much more tractable and ſubmiſſive. He negociated with all the courts of Europe, in order to enſure himſelf friends and partiſans; he even neglected not the court of Rome and that of Spain; and, though he engaged himſelf in no poſitive promiſe, he flattered the catholics with hopes that, in the event of his ſucceſſion, they might expect ſome more liberty than was at preſent indulged them. Elizabeth was the only ſovereign in Europe to whom he never dared to mention his right of ſucceſſion; he knew that, though her advanced age might now invite her to think of fixing an heir to the crown, ſhe never could bear the proſpect of her own death without horror, and was determined ſtill to retain him, and all other competitors, in an entire dependance upon her.

Eſſex was deſcended by females from the royal family; and ſome of his ſanguine partiſans had been ſo imprudent as to mention his name among thoſe of other pretenders to the crown;

but the earl took care, by means of Henry Lee, whom he ſecretly ſent into Scotland, to aſſure James that, ſo far from entertaining ſuch ambitious views, he was determined to uſe every expedient for extorting an immediate declaration in favour of that monarch's right of ſucceſſion. James willingly hearkened to this propoſal; but did not approve of the violent methods which Eſſex intended to employ. Eſſex had communicated his ſcheme to Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland; and, as no man ever commanded more the cordial affection and attachment of his friends, he had even engaged a perſon of that virtue and prudence to entertain thoughts of bringing over part of his army into England, and of forcing the queen to declare the king of Scots her ſucceſſor. And ſuch was Eſſex's impatient ardour, that, though James declined this dangerous expedient, he ſtill endeavoured to perſuade Mountjoy not to deſiſt from the project: but the deputy, who thought that ſuch violence, though it might be prudent, and even juſtifiable, when ſupported by a ſovereign prince, next heir to the crown, would be raſh and criminal if attempted by ſubjects, abſolutely refuſed his concurrence. The correſpondence, however, between Eſſex and the court of Scotland was ſtill conducted with great ſecreſy and cordiality; and that nobleman, beſides conciliating the favour of James, repreſented all his own adverſaries as enemies to that prince's ſucceſſion, and as men entirely devoted to the intereſts of Spain, and partiſans of the chimerical title of the infanta.

The infanta and the archduke Albert had made ſome advances to the queen for peace; and Boulogne, as a neutral town, was choſen for the place of conference. Sir Henry Nevil, the Engliſh reſident in France, Herbert, Edmondes, and Beale, were ſent thither as ambaſſadors from England; and negociated with Zuniga, Carillo, Richardot, and Verheiken, miniſters of Spain, and the archduke: but the conferences were ſoon broken off by

diſputes with regard to the ceremonial. Among the European ſtates England had ever been allowed the precedency above Caſtile, Arragon, Portugal, and the other kingdoms of which the Spaniſh monarchy was compoſed; and Elizabeth inſiſted that this ancient right was not loſt on account of the junction of theſe ſtates, and that that monarchy in its preſent ſituation, though it ſurpaſſed the Engliſh in extent as well as in power, could not be compared with it in point of antiquity, the only durable and regular foundation of precedency among kingdoms as well as noble families. That ſhe might ſhew, however, a pacific diſpoſition, ſhe was content to yield to an equality; but the Spaniſh miniſters, as their nation had always diſputed precedency even with France, to which England yielded, would proceed no farther in the conference till their ſuperiority of rank were acknowledged.° During the preparations for this abortive negociation the earl of Nottingham, the admiral, lord Buckhurſt, treaſurer, and ſecretary Cecil, had diſcovered their inclination to peace; but, as the Engliſh nation, flushed with ſucceſs, and ſanguine in their hopes of plunder and conqueſt, were in general averſe to that meaſure, it was eaſy for a perſon ſo popular as Eſſex to infuſe into the multitude an opinion that theſe miniſters had ſacrificed the intereſts of their country to Spain, and would even make no ſcruple of receiving a ſovereign from that hoſtile nation.

INSURRECTION OF ESSEX. 1601.

But Eſſex, not content with theſe arts for decrying his adverſaries, proceeded to concert more violent methods of ruining them; chiefly inſtigated by Cuffe, his ſecretary, a man of a bold and arrogant ſpirit, who had acquired a great aſcendant over his patron. A ſelect council of malcontents was formed, who

commonly met at Drury-houſe, and were compoſed of ſir Charles Davers, to whom the houſe belonged, the earl of Southampton, ſir Ferdinando Gorges, ſir Chriſtopher Blount, ſir John Davies, and John Littleton; and Eſſex, who boaſted that he had a hundred and twenty barons, knights, and gentlemen of note, at his devotion, and who truſted ſtill more to his authority with the populace, communicated to his aſſociates thoſe ſecret deſigns with which his confidence in ſo powerful a party had inſpired him. Among other criminal projects, the reſult of blind rage and deſpair, he deliberated with them concerning the method of taking arms; and aſked their opinion whether he had beſt begin with ſeizing the palace or the tower, or ſet out with making himſelf maſter at once of both places. The firſt enterpriſe being preferred, a method was concerted for executing it. It was agreed that ſir Chriſtopher Blount, with a choice detachment, ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the palace gates; that Davies ſhould ſeize the hall, Davers the guard chamber and preſence chamber; and that Eſſex ſhould ruſh in from the meuſe, attended by a body of his partiſans; ſhould entreat the queen, with all demonſtrations of humility, to remove his enemies; ſhould oblige her to aſſemble a parliament; and ſhould with common conſent ſettle a new plan of government.[P]

While theſe deſperate projects were in agitation many reaſons of ſuſpicion were carried to the queen; and ſhe ſent Robert Sacville, ſon of the treaſurer, to Eſſex-houſe, on pretence of a viſit, but in reality with a view of diſcovering whether there were in that place any unuſual concourſe of people, or any extraordinary preparations which might threaten an inſurrection. Soon after Eſſex received a ſummons to attend the council, which met at the treaſurer's houſe; and, while he was muſing on this circumſtance, and comparing it with the late unexpected viſit from Sacville, a private note was conveyed to him, by which he

was warned to provide for his own ſafety. He concluded that all his conſpiracy was diſcovered, at leaſt ſuſpected; and that the eaſieſt puniſhment which he had reaſon to apprehend was a new and more ſevere confinement: he therefore excuſed himſelf to the council on pretence of an indiſpoſition; and he immediately diſpatched meſſages to his more intimate confederates, requeſting their advice and aſſiſtance in the preſent critical ſituation of his affairs. They deliberated whether they ſhould abandon all their projects, and fly the kingdom; or inſtantly ſeize the palace with the force which they could aſſemble; or rely upon the affections of the citizens, who were generally known to have a great attachment to the earl. Eſſex declared againſt the firſt expedient, and profeſſed himſelf determined to undergo any fate rather than ſubmit to live the life of a fugitive. To ſeize the palace ſeemed impracticable, without more preparations; eſpecially as the queen ſeemed now aware of their projects, and, as they heard, had uſed the precaution of doubling her ordinary guards. There remained, therefore, no expedient but that of betaking themſelves to the city; and, while the prudence and feaſibility of this reſolution was under debate, a perſon arrived, who, as if he had received a commiſſion for the purpoſe, gave them aſſurance of the affections of the Londoners, and affirmed that they might ſecurely reſt any project on that foundation. The popularity of Eſſex had chiefly buoyed him up in all his vain undertakings; and he fondly imagined that, with no other aſſiſtance than the good-will of the multitude, he might overturn Elizabeth's government, confirmed by time, revered for wiſdom, ſupported by vigour, and concurring with the general ſentiments of the nation. The wild project of raiſing the city was immediately reſolved on; the execution of it was delayed till next day; and emiſſaries were diſpatched to all Eſſex's friends, informing them that Cobham and Raleigh had

laid ſchemes againſt his life, and entreating their preſence and aſſiſtance.

Next day there appeared at Eſſex-houſe the earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen of good quality and fortune; and Eſſex informed them of the danger to which he pretended the machinations of his enemies expoſed him. To ſome he ſaid that he would throw himſelf at the queen's feet, and crave her juſtice and protection: to others he boaſted of his intereſt in the city; and affirmed that, whatever might happen, this reſource could never fail him. The queen was informed of theſe deſigns by means of intelligence conveyed, as is ſuppoſed, to Raleigh by ſir Ferdinando Gorges; and, having ordered the magiſtrates of London to keep the citizens in readineſs, ſhe ſent Egerton, lord keeper, to Eſſex-houſe, with the earl of Worceſter, ſir William Knollys, controller, and Popham, chief juſtice, in order to learn the cauſe of theſe unuſual commotions. They were with difficulty admitted through a wicket; but all their ſervants were excluded except the purſebearer. After ſome altercation, in which they charged Eſſex's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were menaced in their turn by the angry multitude who ſurrounded them, the earl, who found that matters were paſt recall, reſolved to leave them priſoners in his houſe, and to proceed to the execution of his former project. He ſallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with walking ſwords; and in his paſſage to the city was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell. He cried aloud, 'For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!' And then proceeded to the houſe of Smith the ſheriff, on whoſe aid he had great reliance. The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but, though he told them that England was ſold to the infanta, and exhorted them to arm

inſtantly, otherwiſe they could not do him any ſervice, no one ſhewed a diſpoſition to join him. The ſheriff, on the earl's approach to his houſe, ſtole out at the back door, and made the beſt of his way to the mayor. Eſſex, meanwhile, obſerving the coldneſs of the citizens, and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to deſpair of ſucceſs, and thought of retreating to his own houſe. He found the ſtreets in his paſſage barricadoed and guarded by the citizens under the command of ſir John Leviſon. In his attempt to force his way, Tracy, a young gentleman to whom he bore great friendſhip, was killed, with two or three of the Londoners; and the earl himſelf, attended by a few of his partiſans (for the greater part began ſecretly to withdraw themſelves), retired towards the river, and, taking boat, arrived at Eſſex-houſe. He there found that Gorges, whom he had ſent before to capitulate with the lord keeper and the other counſellors, had given all of them their liberty, and had gone to court with them. He was now reduced to deſpair; and appeared determined, in proſecution of lord Sandys' advice, to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity, and rather to periſh, like a brave man, with his ſword in his hand, than baſely by the hands of the executioner: but, after ſome parley, and after demanding in vain, firſt hoſtages, then conditions, from the beſiegers, he ſurrendered at diſcretion; requeſting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing.[q]

ESSEX'S TRIAL.

THE queen, who during all this commotion had behaved with as great tranquillity and ſecurity as if there had only paſſed a fray in the ſtreets, in which ſhe was nowiſe concerned,[r] ſoon gave orders for the trial of the moſt conſiderable of the criminals. The earls of Eſſex and Southampton were arraigned be-

fore a jury of twenty-five peers, where Buckhurſt acted as lord ſteward. The guilt of the priſoners was too apparent to admit of any doubt; and, beſides the inſurrection known to every body, the treaſonable conferences at Drury-houſe were proved by undoubted evidence. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was produced in court: the confeſſions of the earl of Rutland, of the lords Cromwell, Sandys, and Monteagle, of Davers, Blount, and Davies, were only read to the peers, according to the practice of that age. Eſſex's beſt friends were ſcandalized at his aſſurance in inſiſting ſo poſitively on his innocence, and the goodneſs of his intentions; and ſtill more at his vindictive diſpoſition, in accuſing, without any appearance of reaſon, ſecretary Cecil as a partiſan of the infanta's title. The ſecretary, who had expected this charge, ſtepped into the court and challenged Eſſex to produce his authority, which, on examination, was found extremely weak and frivolous.[s] When ſentence was pronounced Eſſex ſpoke like a man who expected nothing but death: but he added, that he ſhould be ſorry if he were repreſented to the queen as a perſon that deſpiſed her clemency; though he ſhould not, he believed, make any cringing ſubmiſſions to obtain it. Southampton's behaviour was more mild and ſubmiſſive: he entreated the good offices of the peers in ſo modeſt and becoming a manner as excited compaſſion in every one.

The moſt remarkable circumſtance in Eſſex's trial was Bacon's appearance againſt him. He was none of the crown lawyers; ſo was not obliged by his office to aſſiſt at this trial: yet did he not ſcruple, in order to obtain the queen's favour, to be active in bereaving of life his friend and patron, whoſe generoſity he had often experienced. He compared Eſſex's conduct, in pretending to fear the attempts of his adverſaries, to that of Piſiſtratus the Athenian, who cut and wounded his own body; and, making the people believe that his enemies had committed the

violence, obtained a guard for his perſon, by whoſe aſſiſtance he afterwards ſubdued the liberties of his country.

After Eſſex had paſſed ſome days in the ſolitude and reflections of a priſon, his proud heart was at laſt ſubdued, not by the fear of death, but by the ſentiments of religion; a principle which he had before attempted to make the inſtrument of his ambition, but which now took a more firm hold of his mind, and prevailed over every other motive and conſideration. His ſpiritual directors perſuaded him that he never could obtain the pardon of heaven unleſs he made a full confeſſion of his diſloyalty; and he gave in to the council an account of all his criminal deſigns, as well as of his correſpondence with the king of Scots. He ſpared not even his moſt intimate friends, ſuch as lord Mountjoy, whom he had engaged in theſe conſpiracies; and he ſought to pacify his preſent remorſe by making ſuch atonements as, in any other period of his life, he would have deemed more blameable than thoſe attempts themſelves which were the objects of his penitence.[t] Sir Harry Nevil, in particular, a man of merit, he accuſed of a correſpondence with the conſpirators; though it appears that this gentleman had never aſſented to the propoſals made him, and was no farther criminal than in not revealing the earl's treaſon; an office to which every man of honour naturally bears the ſtrongeſt reluctance.[u] Nevil was thrown into priſon, and underwent a ſevere perſecution: but, as the queen found Mountjoy an able and ſucceſsful commander, ſhe continued him in his government, and ſacrificed her reſentment to the public ſervice.

EXECUTION OF ESSEX.

Elizabeth affected extremely the praiſe of clemency; and, in every great example which ſhe had made during her reign, ſhe

had always appeared full of reluctance and hesitation: but the present situation of Essex called forth all her tender affections, and kept her in the most real agitation and irresolution. She felt a perpetual combat between resentment and inclination, pride and compassion, the care of her own safety and concern for her favourite; and her situation, during this interval, was perhaps more an object of pity than that to which Essex himself was reduced. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness. Essex's enemies told her that he himself desired to die, and had assured her that she could never be in safety while he lived. It is likely that this proof of penitence and of concern for her would produce a contrary effect to what they intended, and would revive all the fond affection which she had so long indulged towards the unhappy prisoner. But what chiefly hardened her heart against him was his supposed obstinacy in never making, as she hourly expected, any application to her for mercy; and she finally gave her consent to his execution. He discovered at his death symptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear; and willingly acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. The execution was private in the tower, agreeably to his own request. He was apprehensive, he said, lest the favour and compassion of the people would too much raise his heart in those moments, when humiliation under the afflicting hand of heaven was the only proper sentiment which he could indulge.* And the queen, no doubt, thought that prudence required the moving of so melancholy a spectacle from the public eye. Sir Walter Raleigh, who came to the tower on purpose, and who beheld Essex's execution from a window, increased much by this action the general hatred under which he already laboured: it was thought that his sole intention was to feast his eyes with the death of an enemy; and

no apology which he could make for ſo ungenerous a conduct could be accepted by the public. The cruelty and animoſity with which he urged on Eſſex's fate, even when Cecil relented,[y] were ſtill regarded as the principles of this unmanly behaviour.

The earl of Eſſex was but thirty-four years of age when his raſhneſs, imprudence, and violence, brought him to this untimely end. We muſt here, as in many other inſtances, lament the inconſtancy of human nature; that a perſon endowed with ſo many noble virtues, generoſity, ſincerity, friendſhip, valour, eloquence, and induſtry, ſhould, in the latter period of his life, have given reins to his ungovernable paſſions, and involved not only himſelf but many of his friends in utter ruin. The queen's tenderneſs and paſſion for him, as it was the cauſe of thoſe premature honours which he attained, ſeems, on the whole, the chief circumſtance which brought on his unhappy fate. Confident of her partiality towards him, as well of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtineſs which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and, as her amorous inclinations in ſo advanced an age would naturally make her appear ridiculous, if not odious, in his eyes, he was engaged by an imprudent openneſs, of which he made profeſſion, to diſcover too eaſily thoſe ſentiments to her. The many reconciliations and returns of affection, of which he had ſtill made advantage, induced him to venture on new provocations, till he puſhed her beyond all bounds of patience; and he forgot that, though the ſentiments of the woman were ever ſtrong in her, thoſe of the ſovereign had ſtill, in the end, appeared predominant.

Some of Eſſex's aſſociates, Cuffe, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davies, were tried and condemned; and all of theſe, except Davies, were executed. The queen pardoned the reſt; being perſuaded that they were drawn in merely from their friendſhip to

that nobleman, and their care of his ſafety, and were ignorant of the more criminal part of his intentions. Southampton's life was ſaved with great difficulty; but he was detained in priſon during the remainder of this reign.

The king of Scots, apprehenſive leſt his correſpondence with Eſſex might have been diſcovered, and have given offence to Elizabeth, ſent the earl of Marre and lord Kinloſs as ambaſſadors to England, in order to congratulate the queen on her eſcape from the late inſurrection and conſpiracy. They were alſo ordered to make ſecret inquiry whether any meaſures had been taken by her for excluding him from the ſucceſſion, as well as to diſcover the inclinations of the chief nobility and counſellors in caſe of the queen's demiſe.[z] They found the diſpoſitions of men as favourable as they could wiſh; and they even entered into a correſpondence with ſecretary Cecil, whoſe influence, after the fall of Eſſex, was now uncontrolled,[a] and who was reſolved, by this policy, to acquire in time the confidence of the ſucceſſor. He knew how jealous Elizabeth ever was of her authority, and he therefore carefully concealed from her his attachment to James: but he afterwards aſſerted that nothing could be more advantageous to her than this correſpondence; becauſe the king of Scots, ſecure of mounting the throne by his undoubted title, aided by thoſe connexions with the Engliſh miniſtry, was the leſs likely to give any diſturbance to the preſent ſovereign. He alſo perſuaded that prince to remain in quiet, and patiently to expect that time ſhould open to him the inheritance of the crown, without puſhing his friends on deſperate enterpriſes, which would totally incapacitate them from ſerving him. James's equity, as well as his natural facility of diſpoſition, eaſily inclined him to embrace that reſolution;[b] and in this manner the minds of the Engliſh were ſilently but univerſally diſpoſed to admit, without oppoſition, the ſucceſſion of the Scottiſh

line. The death of Eſſex, by putting an end to faction, had been rather favourable than prejudicial to that great event.

FRENCH AFFAIRS.

THE French king, who was little prepoſſeſſed in favour of James, and who, for obvious reaſons, was averſe to the union of England and Scotland,[c] made his ambaſſador drop ſome hints to Cecil of Henry's willingneſs to concur in any meaſure for diſappointing the hopes of the Scottiſh monarch; but, as Cecil ſhewed an entire diſapprobation of ſuch ſchemes, the court of France took no farther ſteps in that matter; and thus the only foreign power which could give much diſturbance to James's ſucceſſion was induced to acquieſce in it.[d] Henry made a journey this ſummer to Calais; and the queen, hearing of his intentions, went to Dover, in hopes of having a perſonal interview with a monarch whom, of all others, ſhe moſt loved and moſt reſpected. The king of France, who felt the ſame ſentiments towards her, would gladly have accepted of the propoſal; but, as many difficulties occurred, it appeared neceſſary to lay aſide, by common conſent, the project of an interview. Elizabeth, however, wrote ſucceſſively two letters to Henry, one by Edmondes, another by ſir Robert Sydney; in which ſhe expreſſed a deſire of conferring, about a buſineſs of importance, with ſome miniſter in whom that prince repoſed entire confidence. The marquis of Roſni, the king's favourite and prime miniſter, came to Dover in diſguiſe; and the memoirs of that able ſtateſman contain a full account of his conference with Elizabeth. This princeſs had formed a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing, in conjunction with Henry, a new ſyſtem in Europe, and of fixing a durable balance of power, by the erection of new ſtates on the ruins of the houſe of Auſtria. She had even the prudence to foreſee the

perils which might enſue from the aggrandizement of her ally; and ſhe purpoſed to unite all the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries in one republic, in order to form a perpetual barrier againſt the dangerous increaſe of the French as well as of the Spaniſh monarchy. Henry had himſelf long meditated ſuch a project againſt the Auſtrian family; and Roſni could not forbear expreſſing his aſtoniſhment, when he found that Elizabeth and his maſter, though they had never communicated their ſentiments on this ſubject, not only had entered into the ſame general views, but had alſo formed the ſame plan for their execution. The affairs, however, of France were not yet brought to a ſituation which might enable Henry to begin that great enterpriſe; and Roſni ſatisfied the queen that it would be neceſſary to poſtpone for ſome years their united attack on the houſe of Auſtria. He departed, filled with juſt admiration at the ſolidity of Elizabeth's judgment and the greatneſs of her mind; and he owns that ſhe was entirely worthy of that high reputation which ſhe enjoyed in Europe.

The queen's magnanimity in forming ſuch extenſive projects was the more remarkable, as, beſides her having fallen ſo far into the decline of life, the affairs of Ireland, though conducted with ability and ſucceſs, were ſtill in diſorder, and made a great diverſion of her forces. The expenſe, incurred by this war, lay heavy upon her narrow revenues; and her miniſters, taking advantage of her diſpoſition to frugality, propoſed to her an expedient of ſaving, which, though ſhe at firſt diſapproved of it, ſhe was at laſt induced to embrace. It was repreſented to her that the great ſums of money remitted to Ireland, for the pay of the Engliſh forces, came, by the neceſſary courſe of circulation, into the hands of the rebels, and enabled them to buy abroad all neceſſary ſupplies of arms and ammunition, which, from the extreme poverty of that kingdom, and its want of every uſeful

commodity, they could not otherwiſe find means to purchaſe. It was therefore recommended to her that ſhe ſhould pay her forces in baſe money; and it was aſſerted that, beſides the great ſaving to the revenue, this ſpecies of coin could never be exported with advantage, and would not paſs in any foreign market. Some of her wiſer counſellors maintained that, if the pay of the ſoldiers were raiſed in proportion, the Iriſh rebels would neceſſarily reap the ſame benefit from the baſe money, which would always be taken at a rate ſuitable to its value; if the pay were not raiſed, there would be danger of a mutiny among the troops, who, whatever names might be affixed to the pieces of metal, would ſoon find, from experience, that they were defrauded in their income.[e] But Elizabeth, though ſhe juſtly valued herſelf on fixing the ſtandard of the Engliſh coin, much debaſed by her predeceſſors, and had innovated very little in that delicate article, was ſeduced by the ſpecious arguments employed by the treaſurer on this occaſion; and ſhe coined a great quantity of baſe money, which he made uſe of in the pay of her forces in Ireland.[f]

MOUNTJOY'S SUCCESS IN IRELAND.

Mountjoy, the deputy, was a man of abilities; and, foreſeeing the danger of mutiny among the troops, he led them inſtantly into the field; and reſolved, by means of ſtrict diſcipline, and by keeping them employed againſt the enemy, to obviate thoſe inconveniences which were juſtly to be apprehended. He made military roads, and built a fortreſs at Moghery; he drove the Mac-Geniſes out of Lecade; he haraſſed Tyrone in Ulſter with inroads and leſſer expeditions; and, by deſtroying every where, and during all ſeaſons, the proviſions of the Iriſh, he reduced them to periſh by famine in the woods and moraſſes, to which

they were obliged to retreat. At the ſame time ſir Henry Docwray, who commanded another body of troops, took the caſtle of Derry, and put garriſons into Newton and Ainogh; and, having ſeized the monaſtery of Donnegal near Baliſhannon, he threw troops into it, and defended it againſt the aſſaults of O'Donnel and the Iriſh. Nor was ſir George Carew idle in the province of Munſter. He ſeized the titular earl of Deſmond, and ſent him over, with Florence Macarty, another chieftain, priſoner to England. He arreſted many ſuſpected perſons, and took hoſtages from others; and, having got a reinforcement of two thouſand men from England, he threw himſelf into Corke, which he ſupplied with arms and proviſions; and he put every thing in a condition for reſiſting the Spaniſh invaſion, which was daily expected. The deputy, informed of the danger to which the ſouthern provinces were expoſed, left the proſecution of the war againſt Tyrone, who was reduced to great extremities; and he marched with his army into Munſter.

DEFEAT OF THE SPANIARDS AND IRISH.

At laſt the Spaniards, under don John d'Aquila, arrived at Kinſale; and ſir Richard Piercy, who commanded in the town with a ſmall garriſon of a hundred and fifty men, found himſelf obliged to abandon it on their appearance. Theſe invaders amounted to four thouſand men; and the Iriſh diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity to join them, in order to free themſelves from the Engliſh government, with which they were extremely diſcontented. One chief ground of their complaint was the introduction of trials by jury;[s] an inſtitution abhorred by that people, though nothing contributes more to the ſupport of that equity and liberty for which the Engliſh laws are ſo juſtly celebrated. The Iriſh alſo bore a great favour to the Spaniards, having entertained the

opinion that they themſelves were deſcended from that nation; and their attachment to the catholic religion proved a new cauſe of affection to the invaders. D'Aquila aſſumed the title of general in the holy war for the preſervation of the faith in Ireland; and he endeavoured to perſuade the people that Elizabeth was, by ſeveral bulls of the pope, deprived of her crown; that her ſubjects were abſolved from their oaths of allegiance; and that the Spaniards were come to deliver the Iriſh from the dominion of the devil.[h] Mountjoy found it neceſſary to act with vigour, in order to prevent a total inſurrection of the Iriſh; and, having collected his forces, he formed the ſiege of Kinſale by land; while ſir Richard Leviſon, with a ſmall ſquadron, blockaded it by ſea. He had no ſooner begun his operations than he heard of the arrival of another body of two thouſand Spaniards under the command of Alphonſo Ocampo, who had taken poſſeſſion of Baltimore and Berehaven; and he was obliged to detach ſir George Carew to oppoſe their progreſs. Tyrone, meanwhile, with Randal, Mac-Surley, Tirel baron of Kelly, and other chieftains of the Iriſh, had joined Ocampo with all their forces, and were marching to the relief of Kinſale. The deputy, informed of their deſign by intercepted letters, made preparations to receive them; and, being reinforced by Leviſon with ſix hundred marines, he poſted his troops on an advantageous ground, which lay on the paſſage of the enemy, leaving ſome cavalry to prevent a ſally from D'Aquila and the Spaniſh garriſon. When Tyrone, with a detachment of Iriſh and Spaniards, approached, he was ſurpriſed to find the Engliſh ſo well poſted, and ranged in good order; and he immediately ſounded a retreat: but the deputy gave orders to purſue him; and, having thrown theſe advanced troops into diſorder, he followed them to the main body, whom he alſo attacked, and put to flight, with the ſlaughter of twelve hundred men.[i] Ocampo was taken priſoner; Tyrone fled into

Ulſter; O'Donnel made his eſcape into Spain; and D'Aquila, finding himſelf reduced to the greateſt difficulties, was obliged to capitulate upon ſuch terms as the deputy preſcribed to him: he ſurrendered Kinſale and Baltimore, and agreed to evacuate the kingdom. This great blow, joined to other ſucceſſes, gained by Wilmot, governor of Kerry, and by Roger and Gavin Harvey, threw the rebels into diſmay, and gave a proſpect of the final reduction of Ireland.

A PARLIAMENT.

THE Iriſh war, though ſucceſsful, was extremely burdenſome on the queen's revenue; and, beſides the ſupplies granted by parliament, which were indeed very ſmall, but which they ever regarded as mighty conceſſions, ſhe had been obliged, notwithſtanding her great frugality, to employ other expedients, ſuch as ſelling the royal demeſnes and crown jewels,[k] and exacting loans from the people,[l] in order to ſupport this cauſe, ſo eſſential to the honour and intereſts of England. The neceſſity of her affairs obliged her again to ſummon a parliament; and it here appeared that, though old age was advancing faſt upon her, though ſhe had loſt much of her popularity by the unfortunate execution of Eſſex (inſomuch that, when ſhe appeared in public, ſhe was not attended with the uſual acclamations),[m] yet the powers of her prerogative, ſupported by vigour, ſtill remained as high and uncontrollable as ever.

The active reign of Elizabeth had enabled many perſons to diſtinguiſh themſelves in civil and military employments; and the queen, who was not able, from her revenue, to give them any rewards proportioned to their ſervices, had made uſe of an expedient which had been employed by her predeceſſors, but which had never been carried to ſuch an extreme as under her

adminiſtration. She granted her ſervants and courtiers patents for monopolies; and theſe patents they ſold to others, who were thereby enabled to raiſe commodities to what price they pleaſed, and who put invincible reſtraints upon all commerce, induſtry, and emulation in the arts. It is aſtoniſhing to conſider the number and importance of thoſe commodities which were thus aſſigned over to patentees. Currants, ſalt, iron, powder, cards, calf-ſkins, fells, pouldavies, ox-ſhin-bones, train-oil, liſts of cloth, pot-aſhes, anniſeeds, vinegar, ſea-coals, ſteel, aqua-vitæ, bruſhes, pots, bottles, ſaltpetre, lead, accidence, oil, calamine-ſtone, oil of blubber, glaſſes, paper, ſtarch, tin, ſulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards, tranſportation of iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather, importation of Spaniſh wool, of Iriſh yarn: theſe are but a part of the commodities which had been appropriated to monopoliſts.[n] When this liſt was read in the houſe a member cried, 'Is not bread in the number?' 'Bread!' ſaid every one with aſtoniſhment: 'Yes, I aſſure you,' replies he, 'if affairs go on at this rate, we ſhall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next [o] parliament.' Theſe monopoliſts were ſo exorbitant in their demands, that in ſome places they raiſed the price of ſalt from ſixteen pence a buſhel to fourteen or fifteen ſhillings.[p] Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their commerce; and, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt encroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers from the council, by which they were enabled to oppreſs the people at pleaſure, and to exact money from ſuch as they thought proper to accuſe of interfering with their patent.[q] The patentees of ſaltpetre having the power of entering into every houſe, and of committing what havock they pleaſed in ſtables, cellars, or wherever they ſuſpected ſaltpetre might be gathered, commonly extorted money from thoſe who deſired to free themſelves from this damage or trouble.[r] And, while all domeſtic intercourſe

was thus reſtrained, leſt any ſcope ſhould remain for induſtry; almoſt every ſpecies of foreign commerce was confined to excluſive companies, who bought and ſold at any price that they themſelves thought proper to offer or exact.

Theſe grievances, the moſt intolerable for the preſent, and the moſt pernicious in their conſequences that ever were known in any age, or under any government, had been mentioned in the laſt parliament, and a petition had even been preſented to the queen complaining of the patents; but ſhe ſtill perſiſted in defending her monopoliſts againſt her people. A bill was now introduced into the lower houſe, aboliſhing all theſe monopolies; and, as the former application had been unſucceſsful, a law was inſiſted on as the only certain expedient for correcting theſe abuſes. The courtiers, on the other hand, maintained that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the commons could never hope for ſucceſs if they did not make application, in the moſt humble and reſpectful manner, to the queen's goodneſs and beneficence. The topics which were advanced in the houſe, and which came equally from the courtiers and the country gentlemen, and were admitted by both, will appear the moſt extraordinary to ſuch as are prepoſſeſſed with an idea of the privileges enjoyed by the people during that age, and of the liberty poſſeſſed under the adminiſtration of Elizabeth. It was aſſerted that the queen inherited both an enlarging and a reſtraining power; by her prerogative ſhe might ſet at liberty what was reſtrained by ſtatute or otherwiſe, and by her prerogative ſhe might reſtrain what was otherwiſe at liberty:[s] that the royal prerogative was not to be canvaſſed, nor diſputed,[t] nor examined; and did not even admit of any limitation:[u] that abſolute princes, ſuch as the ſovereigns of England,[x] were a ſpecies of divinity: that it was in vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by laws or ſtatutes; ſince, by means of her diſpenſing power, ſhe could

looſen herſelf at pleaſure:[y] and that, even if a clauſe ſhould be annexed to a ſtatute, excluding her diſpenſing power, ſhe could firſt diſpenſe with that clauſe, and then with the ſtatute.[z] After all this diſcourſe, more worthy of a Turkiſh divan than of an Engliſh houſe of commons, according to our preſent idea of this aſſembly, the queen, who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to ariſe, ſent for the ſpeaker, and deſired him to acquaint the houſe that ſhe would immediately cancel the moſt grievous and oppreſſive of theſe patents.[a]

The houſe was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and admiration, and gratitude, at this extraordinary inſtance of the queen's goodneſs and condeſcenſion. A member ſaid, with tears in his eyes, that, if a ſentence of everlaſting happineſs had been pronounced in his favour, he could not have felt more joy than that with which he was at preſent overwhelmed.[b] Another obſerved that this meſſage from the ſacred perſon of the queen was a kind of goſpel or glad tidings, and ought to be received as ſuch, and be written in the tablets of their hearts.[c] And it was farther remarked that, in the ſame manner as the Deity would not give his glory to another, ſo the queen herſelf was the only agent in their preſent proſperity and happineſs.[d] The houſe voted, that the ſpeaker, with a committee, ſhould aſk permiſſion to wait on her majeſty, and return thanks to her for her gracious conceſſions to her people.

When the ſpeaker, with the other members, was introduced to the queen, they all flung themſelves on their knees, and remained in that poſture a conſiderable time, till ſhe thought proper to expreſs her deſire that they ſhould riſe.[e] The ſpeaker diſplayed the gratitude of the commons, becauſe her ſacred ears were ever open to hear them, and her bleſſed hands ever ſtretched out to relieve them. They acknowledged, he ſaid, in all duty and thankfulneſs acknowledged, that, before they called,

her preventing grace and all-deſerving goodneſs watched over them for their good; more ready to give than they could deſire, much leſs deſerve. He remarked that the attribute which was moſt proper to God, to perform all he promiſeth, appertained alſo to her; and that ſhe was all truth, all conſtancy, and all goodneſs. And he concluded with theſe expreſſions, 'Neither do we preſent our thanks in words or any outward ſign, which can be no ſufficient retribution for ſo great goodneſs; but in all duty and thankfulneſs, proſtrate at your feet, we preſent our moſt loyal and thankful hearts, even the laſt drop of blood in our hearts, and the laſt ſpirit of breath in our noſtrils, to be poured out, to be breathed up,[f] for your ſafety.' The queen heard very patiently this ſpeech, in which ſhe was flattered in phraſes appropriated to the Supreme Being; and ſhe returned an anſwer full of ſuch expreſſions of tenderneſs towards her people as ought to have appeared fulſome after the late inſtances of rigour which ſhe had employed, and from which nothing but neceſſity had made her depart. Thus was this critical affair happily terminated; and Elizabeth, by prudently receding in time from part of her prerogative, maintained her dignity, and preſerved the affections of her people.

The commons granted her a ſupply quite unprecedented, of four ſubſidies and eight fifteenths; and they were ſo dutiful as to vote this ſupply before they received any ſatisfaction in the buſineſs of monopolies, which they juſtly conſidered as of the utmoſt importance to the intereſt and happineſs of the nation. Had they attempted to extort that conceſſion by keeping the ſupply in ſuſpenſe, ſo haughty was the queen's diſpoſition, that this appearance of conſtraint and jealouſy had been ſufficient to have produced a denial of all their requeſts, and to have forced her into ſome acts of authority ſtill more violent and arbitrary.

The remaining events of this reign are neither numerous nor important. The queen, finding that the Spaniards had involved her in ſo much trouble, by fomenting and aſſiſting the Iriſh rebellion, reſolved to give them employment at home; and ſhe fitted out a ſquadron of nine ſhips, under ſir Richard Leviſon, admiral, and ſir William Monſon, vice-admiral, whom ſhe ſent on an expedition to the coaſt of Spain. The admiral, with part of the ſquadron, met the galleons loaded with treaſure; but was not ſtrong enough to attack them. The vice-admiral alſo fell in with ſome rich ſhips; but they eſcaped for a like reaſon: and theſe two brave officers, that their expedition might not prove entirely fruitleſs, reſolved to attack the harbour of Cerimbra in Portugal; where they received intelligence, a very rich carrack had taken ſhelter. The harbour was guarded by a caſtle; there were eleven gallies ſtationed in it; and the militia of the country, to the number, as was believed, of twenty thouſand men, appeared in arms on the ſhore: yet, notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the Engliſh ſquadron broke into the harbour, diſmounted the guns of the caſtle, ſunk, or burnt, or put to flight, the gallies, and obliged the carrack to ſurrender.[g] They brought her home to England, and ſhe was valued at a million of ducats:[h] a ſenſible loſs to the Spaniards, and a ſupply ſtill more important to Elizabeth.[i]

TYRONE'S SUBMISSION. 1603.

THE affairs of Ireland, after the defeat of Tyrone and the expulſion of the Spaniards, haſtened to a ſettlement. Lord Mountjoy divided his army into ſmall parties, and haraſſed the rebels on every ſide: he built Charlemont, and many other ſmall forts, which were impregnable to the Iriſh, and guarded all the important paſſes of the country: the activity of ſir Henry Docwray

and ſir Arthur Chicheſter permitted no repoſe or ſecurity to the rebels: and many of the chieftains, after ſculking during ſome time in woods and moraſſes, ſubmitted to mercy, and received ſuch conditions as the deputy was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. Tyrone himſelf made application by Arthur Mac-Baron, his brother, to be received upon terms; but Mountjoy would not admit him except he made an abſolute ſurrender of his life and fortunes to the queen's mercy. He appeared before the deputy at Millefont in a habit and poſture ſuitable to his preſent fortune; and, after acknowledging his offence in the moſt humble terms, he was committed to cuſtody by Mountjoy, who intended to bring him over captive into England, to be diſpoſed of at the queen's pleaſure.

QUEEN'S SICKNESS AND DEATH.

But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any ſatisfaction from this fortunate event: ſhe had fallen into a profound melancholy; which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her proſperous reign, were unable in any degree to alleviate or aſſuage. Some aſcribed this depreſſion of mind to her repentance of granting a pardon to Tyrone, whom ſhe had always reſolved to bring to condign puniſhment for his treaſons, but who had made ſuch intereſt with the miniſters as to extort a remiſſion from her. Others, with more likelihood, accounted for her dejection by a diſcovery which ſhe had made of the correſpondence maintained in her court with her ſucceſſor the king of Scots, and by the neglect to which, on account of her old age and infirmities, ſhe imagined herſelf to be expoſed. But there is another cauſe aſſigned for her melancholy, which has long been rejected by hiſtorians as romantic, but which late diſcoveries ſeem to have confirmed:[k] ſome incidents happened

which revived her tenderneſs for Eſſex, and filled her with the deepeſt ſorrow for the conſent which ſhe had unwarily given to his execution.

The earl of Eſſex, after his return from the fortunate expedition againſt Cadiz, obſerving the increaſe of the queen's fond attachment towards him, took occaſion to regret that the neceſſity of her ſervice required him often to be abſent from her perſon, and expoſed him to all thoſe ill offices which his enemies, more aſſiduous in their attendance, could employ againſt him. She was moved with this tender jealouſy; and, making him the preſent of a ring, deſired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and aſſured him that, into whatever diſgrace he ſhould fall, whatever prejudices ſhe might be induced to entertain againſt him, yet, if he ſent her that ring, ſhe would immediately upon the ſight of it recall her former tenderneſs, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Eſſex, notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, reſerved this precious gift to the laſt extremity; but, after his trial and condemnation, he reſolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the counteſs of Nottingham, whom he deſired to deliver it to the queen. The counteſs was prevailed on by her huſband, the mortal enemy of Eſſex, not to execute the commiſſion; and Elizabeth, who ſtill expected that her favourite would make this laſt appeal to her tenderneſs, and who aſcribed the neglect of it to his invincible obſtinacy, was, after much delay and many internal combats, puſhed by reſentment and policy to ſign the warrant for his execution. The counteſs of Nottingham, falling into ſickneſs, and affected with the near approach of death, was ſeized with remorſe for her conduct; and, having obtained a viſit from the queen, ſhe craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal ſecret. The queen, aſtoniſhed with this incident, burſt into a furious paſſion: ſhe

ſhook the dying counteſs in her bed; and, crying to her that God might pardon her, but ſhe never could, ſhe broke from her, and thenceforth reſigned herſelf over to the deepeſt and moſt incurable melancholy. She rejected all conſolation; ſhe even refuſed food and ſuſtenance; and, throwing herſelf on the floor, ſhe remained ſullen and immoveable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and exiſtence an inſufferable burden to her. Few words ſhe uttered; and they were all expreſſive of ſome inward grief, which ſhe cared not to reveal: but ſighs and groans were the chief vent which ſhe gave to her deſpondency, and which, though they diſcovered her ſorrows, were never able to eaſe or aſſuage them. Ten days and nights ſhe lay upon the carpet, leaning on cuſhions which her maids brought her; and her phyſicians could not perſuade her to allow herſelf to be put to bed, much leſs to make trial of any remedies which they preſcribed to her.[1] Her anxious mind at laſt had ſo long preyed on her frail body, that her end was viſibly approaching; and the council, being aſſembled, ſent the keeper, admiral, and ſecretary, to know her will with regard to her ſucceſſor. She anſwered, with a faint voice, that, as ſhe had held a regal ſceptre, ſhe deſired no other than a royal ſucceſſor. Cecil requeſting her to explain herſelf more particularly, ſhe ſubjoined, that ſhe would have a king to ſucceed her; and who ſhould that be but her neareſt kinſman, the king of Scots? Being then adviſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, ſhe replied that ſhe did ſo, nor did her mind in the leaſt wander from him. Her voice ſoon after left her; her ſenſes failed; ſhe fell into a lethargic ſlumber, which continued ſome hours; and ſhe expired gently, without farther ſtruggle or convulſion, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1603.

Q. ELIZABETH APPOINTING HER SUCCESSOR.

CHARACTER OF THE QUEEN.

So dark a cloud overcaſt the evening of that day which had ſhone out with a mighty luſtre in the eyes of all Europe. There are few great perſonages in hiſtory who have been more expoſed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than queen Elizabeth; and yet there ſcarcely is any whoſe reputation has been more certainly determined by the unanimous conſent of poſterity. The unuſual length of her adminiſtration, and the ſtrong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and, obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers ſomewhat of their panegyrics, have at laſt, in ſpite of political factions, and, what is more, of religious animoſities, produced a uniform judgment with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her conſtancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, addreſs, are allowed to merit the higheſt praiſes, and appear not to have been ſurpaſſed by any perſon that ever filled a throne: a conduct leſs rigorous, leſs imperious, more ſincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requiſite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind ſhe controlled all her more active and ſtronger qualities, and prevented them from running into exceſſes: her heroiſm was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendſhip from partiality, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition: ſhe guarded not herſelf with equal care or equal ſucceſs from leſſer infirmities; the rivalſhip of beauty, the deſire of admiration, the jealouſy of love, and the ſallies of anger.

Her ſingular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herſelf, ſhe ſoon obtained an uncontrolled aſcendant

over her people; and, while ſhe merited all their eſteem by her real virtues, ſhe alſo engaged their affections by her pretended ones. Few ſovereigns of England ſucceeded to the throne in more difficult circumſtances; and none ever conducted the government with ſuch uniform ſucceſs and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true ſecret for managing religious factions, ſhe preſerved her people, by her ſuperior prudence, from thoſe confuſions in which theological controverſy had involved all the neighbouring nations: and, though her enemies were the moſt powerful princes of Europe, the moſt active, the moſt enterpriſing, the leaſt ſcrupulous, ſhe was able, by her vigour, to make deep impreſſions on their ſtates: her own greatneſs meanwhile remained untouched and unimpaired.

The wiſe miniſters and brave warriors, who flouriſhed under her reign, ſhare the praiſe of her ſucceſs; but, inſtead of leſſening the applauſe due to her, they make a great addition to it. They owed all of them their advancement to her choice; they were ſupported by her conſtancy; and, with all their abilities, they were never able to acquire any undue aſcendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, ſhe remained equally miſtreſs: the force of the tender paſſions was great over her, but the force of her mind was ſtill ſuperior; and the combat which her victory viſibly coſt her ſerves only to diſplay the firmneſs of her reſolution, and the loftineſs of her ambitious ſentiments.

The fame of this princeſs, though it has ſurmounted the prejudices both of faction and bigotry, yet lies ſtill expoſed to another prejudice, which is more durable becauſe more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we ſurvey her, is capable either of exalting beyond meaſure, or diminiſhing the luſtre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the

conſideration of her ſex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be ſtruck with the higheſt admiration of her great qualities and extenſive capacity; but we are alſo apt to require ſome more ſoftneſs of diſpoſition, ſome greater lenity of temper, ſome of thoſe amiable weakneſſes by which her ſex is diſtinguiſhed. But the true method of eſtimating her merit is to lay aſide all theſe conſiderations, and conſider her merely as a rational being placed in authority, and intruſted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a miſtreſs; but her qualities as a ſovereign, though with ſome conſiderable exceptions, are the object of undiſputed applauſe and approbation.

APPENDIX III.

GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND.

HE party among us, who have distinguished themselves by
ir adhering to liberty and a popular government, have long
lulged their prejudices against the increasing race of princes,
believing unbounded panegyrics on the virtue and wisdom
Elizabeth. They have even been so extremely ignorant of the
ndedness of this reign, as to extol her for a quality which,
all others the most lewd and profligate of a tender regard for
e constitution, and a concern for the liberties and privileges
her people. But as it is scarcely possible for the prepossel-
ns of party to throw a veil much longer over facts so palpable
undeniable, there is danger lest the public should run into
opposite extreme, and should entertain an aversion to the
mory of a princess who exercised the royal authority in a
anner so contrary to all the ideas which we at present enter-
a legal constitution. But Elizabeth only supported the
transmitted to her

APPENDIX III.

GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND....REVENUES....COMMERCE....MILITARY FORCE....MANNERS....LEARNING.

GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND.

THE party among us, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their adhering to liberty and a popular government, have long indulged their prejudices againſt the ſucceeding race of princes, by beſtowing unbounded panegyrics on the virtue and wiſdom of Elizabeth. They have even been ſo extremely ignorant of the tranſactions of this reign, as to extol her for a quality which, of all others, ſhe was the leaſt poſſeſſed of; a tender regard for the conſtitution, and a concern for the liberties and privileges of her people. But, as it is ſcarcely poſſible for the prepoſſeſſions of party to throw a veil much longer over facts ſo palpable and undeniable, there is danger leſt the public ſhould run into the oppoſite extreme, and ſhould entertain an averſion to the memory of a princeſs who exerciſed the royal authority in a manner ſo contrary to all the ideas which we at preſent entertain of a legal conſtitution. But Elizabeth only ſupported the prerogatives tranſmitted to her by her predeceſſors; ſhe believed that her ſubjects were entitled to no more liberty than their anceſtors had enjoyed; ſhe found that they entirely acquieſced in her arbitrary adminiſtration; and it was not natural for her to

find fault with a form of government by which ſhe herſelf was inveſted with ſuch unlimited authority. In the particular exertions of power the queſtion ought never to be forgotten, What is beſt? But, in the general diſtribution of power among the ſeveral members of a conſtitution, there can ſeldom be admitted any other queſtion than What is eſtabliſhed? Few examples occur of princes who have willingly reſigned their power; none of thoſe who have, without ſtruggle and reluctance, allowed it to be extorted from them. If any other rule than eſtabliſhed practice be followed, factions and diſſenſions muſt multiply without end: and, though many conſtitutions, and none more than the Britiſh, have been improved even by violent innovations, the praiſe beſtowed on thoſe patriots, to whom the nation has been indebted for its privileges, ought to be given with ſome reſerve, and ſurely without the leaſt rancour againſt thoſe who adhered to the ancient conſtitution.'

In order to underſtand the ancient conſtitution of England, there is not a period which deſerves more to be ſtudied than the reign of Elizabeth. The prerogatives of this princeſs were ſcarcely ever diſputed, and ſhe therefore employed them without ſcruple: her imperious temper, a circumſtance in which ſhe went far beyond her ſucceſſors, rendered her exertions of power violent and frequent, and diſcovered the full extent of her authority; the great popularity which ſhe enjoyed proves that ſhe did not infringe any eſtabliſhed liberties of the people; there remains evidence ſufficient to aſcertain the moſt noted acts of her adminiſtration; and, though that evidence muſt be drawn from a ſource wide of the ordinary hiſtorians, it becomes only the more authentic on that account, and ſerves as a ſtronger proof that her particular exertions of power were conceived to be nothing but the ordinary courſe of adminiſtration, ſince they were not thought remarkable enough to be recorded even by

contemporary writers. If there was any difference in this particular, the people in former reigns ſeem rather to have been more ſubmiſſive than even during the age of Elizabeth.[m] It may not here be improper to recount ſome of the ancient prerogatives of the crown, and lay open the ſources of that great power which the Engliſh monarchs formerly enjoyed.

One of the moſt ancient and moſt eſtabliſhed inſtruments of power was the court of Star Chamber, which poſſeſſed an unlimited diſcretionary authority of fining, impriſoning, and inflicting corporal puniſhment; and whoſe juriſdiction extended to all ſorts of offences, contempts, and diſorders, that lay not within reach of the common law. The members of this court conſiſted of the privy council and the judges; men who, all of them, enjoyed their offices during pleaſure: and, when the prince himſelf was preſent, he was the ſole judge, and all the others could only interpoſe with their advice. There needed but this one court in any government to put an end to all regular, legal, and exact plans of liberty; for who durſt ſet himſelf in oppoſition to the crown and miniſtry, or aſpire to the character of being a patron of freedom, while expoſed to ſo arbitrary a juriſdiction? I much queſtion whether any of the abſolute monarchies in Europe contain at preſent ſo illegal and deſpotic a tribunal.

The court of High Commiſſion was another juriſdiction ſtill more terrible; both becauſe the crime of hereſy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence, and becauſe its methods of inquiſition, and of adminiſtering oaths, were more contrary to all the moſt ſimple ideas of juſtice and equity. The fines and impriſonments impoſed by this court were frequent; the deprivations and ſuſpenſions of the clergy for non-conformity were alſo numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the eccleſiaſtics of England.[n] The queen, in a letter to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſaid ex-

preſsly that ſhe was reſolved that no man ſhould be ſuffered to decline, either on the left or on the right hand, from the drawn line limited by authority, and by her laws and injunctions.[o]

But Martial Law went beyond even theſe two courts in a prompt, and arbitrary, and violent method of deciſion. Whenever there was any inſurrection or public diſorder, the crown employed martial law; and it was, during that time, exerciſed not only over the ſoldiers, but over the whole people: any one might be puniſhed as a rebel, or an aider and abettor of rebellion, whom the provoſt-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies, pleaſed to ſuſpect. Lord Bacon ſays that the trial at common law, granted to the earl of Eſſex and his fellow conſpirators, was a favour; for that the caſe would have born and required the ſeverity of martial law.[p] We have ſeen inſtances of its being employed by queen Mary in defence of orthodoxy. There remains a letter of queen Elizabeth's to the earl of Suſſex, after the ſuppreſſion of the northern rebellion, in which ſhe ſharply reproves him becauſe ſhe had not heard of his having executed any criminals by martial law;[q] though it is probable that near eight hundred perſons ſuffered, one way or other, on account of that ſlight inſurrection. But the kings of England did not always limit the exerciſe of this law to times of civil war and diſorder. In 1552, when there was no rebellion or inſurrection, king Edward granted a commiſſion of martial law; and empowered the commiſſioners to execute it 'as ſhould be thought by their diſcretions[r] moſt neceſſary.' Queen Elizabeth too was not ſparing in the uſe of this law. In 1573, one Peter Burchet, a puritan, being perſuaded that it was meritorious to kill ſuch as oppoſed the truth of the goſpel, ran into the ſtreet, and wounded Hawkins, the famous ſea-captain, whom he took for Hatton, the queen's favourite. The queen was ſo incenſed, that ſhe ordered him to be puniſhed inſtantly by martial

law; but, upon the remonſtrance of ſome prudent counſellors, who told her that this law was uſually confined to turbulent times, ſhe recalled her order, and delivered over Burchet to the common law.[s] But ſhe continued not always ſo reſerved in exerting this authority. There remains a proclamation of her's, in which ſhe orders martial law to be uſed againſt all ſuch as import bulls, or even forbidden books and pamphlets,[t] from abroad; and prohibits the queſtioning of the lieutenants, or their deputies, for their arbitrary puniſhment of ſuch offenders, 'any law or ſtatute to the contrary in anywiſe notwithſtanding.' We have another act of her's ſtill more extraordinary. The ſtreets of London were much infeſted with idle vagabonds and riotous perſons; the lord mayor had endeavoured to repreſs this diſorder; the ſtar chamber had exerted its authority, and inflicted puniſhment on theſe rioters: but the queen, finding thoſe remedies ineffectual, revived martial law, and gave ſir Thomas Wilford a commiſſion of provoſt-martial; 'granting him authority, and commanding him, upon ſignification given by the juſtices of peace in London, or the neighbouring counties, of ſuch offenders worthy to be ſpeedily executed by martial law, to attach and take the ſame perſons, and in the preſence of the ſaid juſtices, according to juſtice of martial law, to execute them upon the gallows or gibbet openly, or near to ſuch place where the ſaid rebellious and incorrigible offenders ſhall be found to have committed " the ſaid great offences.' I ſuppoſe it would be difficult to produce an inſtance of ſuch an act of authority in any place nearer than Muſcovy. The patent of high conſtable, granted to earl Rivers by Edward IV, proves the nature of the office. The powers are unlimited, perpetual, and remain in force during peace as well as during war and rebellion. The parliament in Edward the VIth's reign acknowledged the juriſdiction of the conſtable and martial's court to be part of the law of the land.[w]

The Star Chamber and High Commiſſion, and Court Martial, though arbitrary juriſdictions, had ſtill ſome pretence of a trial, at leaſt of a ſentence: but there was a grievous puniſhment very generally inflicted in that age, without any other authority than the warrant of a ſecretary of ſtate, or of the privy council;[x] and that was, impriſonment in any jail, and during any time that the miniſters ſhould think proper. In ſuſpicious times all the jails were full of priſoners of ſtate; and theſe unhappy victims of public jealouſy were ſometimes thrown into dungeons, and loaded with irons, and treated in the moſt cruel manner, without their being able to obtain any remedy from law.

This practice was an indirect way of employing torture. But the rack itſelf, though not admitted in the ordinary execution of juſtice,[y] was frequently uſed, upon any ſuſpicion, by authority of a warrant from a ſecretary or the privy council. Even the council in the marches of Wales was empowered, by their very commiſſion, to make uſe of torture whenever they thought proper.[z] There cannot be a ſtronger proof how lightly the rack was employed than the following ſtory, told by lord Bacon. We ſhall give it in his own words: 'The queen was mightily incenſed againſt Haywarde, on account of a book he dedicated to lord Eſſex, being a ſtory of the firſt year of Henry IV; thinking it a ſeditious prelude to put into the people's heads boldneſs and faction.[a] She ſaid ſhe had an opinion that there was treaſon in it, and aſked me if I could not find any places in it that might be drawn within the caſe of treaſon? Whereto I anſwered, For treaſon ſure I found none; but for felony very many. And when her majeſty haſtily aſked me, Wherein? I told her, the author had committed very apparent theft; for he had taken moſt of the ſentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and tranſlated them into Engliſh, and put them into his text. And another time, when the queen could not be perſuaded that it was his writing whoſe

name was to it, but that it had ſome more miſchievous author, and ſaid, with great indignation, that ſhe would have him racked to produce his author; I replied, Nay, madam, he is a doctor; never rack his perſon, but rack his ſtyle; let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the ſtory where it breaketh off; and I will undertake, by collating the ſtyles,[b] to judge whether he were the author or no.' Thus, had it not been for Bacon's humanity, or rather his wit, this author, a man of letters, had been put to the rack for a moſt innocent performance. His real offence was his dedicating a book to that munificent patron of the learned, the earl of Eſſex, at a time when this nobleman lay under her majeſty's diſpleaſure.

The queen's menace, of trying and puniſhing Haywarde for treaſon, could eaſily have been executed, let his book have been ever ſo innocent. While ſo many terrors hung over the people, no jury durſt have acquitted a man when the court was reſolved to have him condemned. The practice alſo, of not confronting witneſſes with the priſoner, gave the crown lawyers all imaginable advantage againſt him. And, indeed, there ſcarcely occurs an inſtance, during all theſe reigns, that the ſovereign or the miniſters were ever diſappointed in the iſſue of a proſecution. Timid juries, and judges who held their offices during pleaſure, never failed to ſecond all the views of the crown. And, as the practice was anciently common, of fining, impriſoning, or otherwiſe puniſhing the jurors, merely at the diſcretion of the court, for finding a verdict contrary to the direction of theſe dependent judges, it is obvious that juries were then no manner of ſecurity to the liberty of the ſubject.

The power of preſſing, both for ſea and land ſervice, and obliging any perſon to accept of any office, however mean or unfit for him, was another prerogative totally incompatible with

freedom. Oſborne gives the following account of Elizabeth's method of employing this prerogative. 'In caſe ſhe found any likely to interrupt her occaſions,' ſays he, 'ſhe did ſeaſonably prevent him by a chargeable employment abroad, or putting him upon ſome ſervice at home, which ſhe knew leaſt grateful to the people; contrary to a falſe maxim, ſince practiſed with far worſe ſucceſs, by ſuch princes as thought it better huſbandry to buy off enemies [c] than reward friends.' The practice with which Oſborne reproaches the two immediate ſucceſſors of Elizabeth proceeded partly from the extreme difficulty of their ſituation, partly from the greater lenity of their diſpoſition. The power of preſſing, as may naturally be imagined, was often abuſed, in other reſpects, by men of inferior rank; and officers often exacted money for freeing perſons from the ſervice.[d]

The government of England, during that age, however different in other particulars, bore, in this reſpect, ſome reſemblance of that of Turkey at preſent; the ſovereign poſſeſſed every power except that of impoſing taxes: and in both countries this limitation, unſupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the ſultan to permit the extortion of the baſhas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards ſqueezes preſents or takes forfeitures: in England, it engaged the queen to erect monopolies, and grant patents for excluſive trade: an invention ſo pernicious, that, had ſhe gone on during a tract of years at her own rate, England, the ſeat of riches, and arts, and commerce, would have contained at preſent as little induſtry as Morocco, or the coaſt of Barbary.

We may farther obſerve, that this valuable privilege, valuable only becauſe it proved afterwards the means by which the parliament extorted all their other privileges, was very much encroached on in an indirect manner during the reign of Elizabeth, as well as of her predeceſſors. She often exacted loans

from her people: an arbitrary and unequal kind of impoſition, and which individuals felt ſeverely; for, though the money had been regularly repayed, which was ſeldom the caſe,[e] it lay in the prince's hands without intereſt, which was a ſenſible loſs to the perſons from whom the money was borrowed.[f]

There remains a propoſal made by lord Burleigh for levying a general loan on the people, equivalent to a ſubſidy;[g] a ſcheme which would have laid the burden more equally, but which was, in different words, a taxation impoſed without conſent of parliament. It is remarkable that the ſcheme, thus propoſed without any viſible neceſſity by that wiſe miniſter, is the very ſame which Henry VIII executed, and which Charles I, enraged by ill uſage from his parliament, and reduced to the greateſt difficulties, put afterwards in practice, to the great diſcontent of the nation.

The demand of benevolence was another invention of that age for taxing the people. This practice was ſo little conceived to be irregular, that the commons in 1585 offered the queen a benevolence; which ſhe very generouſly refuſed, as having no occaſion at that time for money.[h] Queen Mary alſo, by an order of council, increaſed the cuſtoms in ſome branches; and her ſiſter imitated the example.[i] There was a ſpecies of ſhip-money impoſed at the time of the Spaniſh invaſion: the ſeveral ports were required to equip a certain number of veſſels at their own charge; and ſuch was the alacrity of the people for the public defence, that ſome of the ports, particularly London, ſent double the number demanded of them.[k] When any levies were made for Ireland, France, or the Low Countries, the queen obliged the counties to levy the ſoldiers, to arm and clothe them, and carry them to the ſeaports at their own charge. New-year's gifts were at that time expected from the nobility, and from the more conſiderable gentry.[l]

Purveyance and pre-emption were alſo methods of taxation, unequal, arbitrary, and oppreſſive. The whole kingdom ſenſibly felt the burden of thoſe impoſitions; and it was regarded as a great privilege conferred on Oxford and Cambridge, to prohibit the purveyors from taking any commodities within five miles of theſe univerſities. The queen victualled her navy by means of this prerogative during the firſt years of her reign.[m]

Wardſhip was the moſt regular and legal of all theſe impoſitions by prerogative; yet was it a great badge of ſlavery, and oppreſſive to all the conſiderable families. When an eſtate devolved to a female, the ſovereign obliged her to marry any one he pleaſed: whether the heir were male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profit of the eſtate during the minority. The giving of a rich wardſhip was a uſual method of rewarding a courtier or favourite.

The inventions were endleſs which arbitrary power might employ for the extorting of money, while the people imagined that their property was ſecured by the crown's being debarred from impoſing taxes. Strype has preſerved a ſpeech of lord Burleigh to the queen in council, in which are contained ſome particulars not a little extraordinary.[n] Burleigh propoſes that ſhe ſhould erect a court for the correction of all abuſes, and ſhould confer on the commiſſioners a general inquiſitorial power over the whole kingdom. He ſets before her the example of her wiſe grandfather, Henry VII, who by ſuch methods extremely augmented his revenue; and he recommends that this new court ſhould proceed, 'as well by the direction and ordinary courſe of the laws, as by virtue of her majeſty's ſupreme regiment and abſolute power, from whence law proceeded.' In a word, he expects from this inſtitution greater acceſſion to the royal treaſure than Henry VIII derived from the abolition of the abbies, and all the forfeitures of eccleſiaſtical revenues. This project of

lord Burleigh's needs not, I think, any comment. A form of government muſt be very arbitrary indeed where a wife and good miniſter could make ſuch a propoſal to the ſovereign.

Embargoes on merchandiſe was another engine of royal power, by which the Engliſh princes were able to extort money from the people. We have ſeen inſtances in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth, before her coronation, iſſued an order to the cuſtom-houſe, prohibiting the ſale of all crimſon ſilks which ſhould be imported, till the court were firſt ſupplied.[o] She expected, no doubt, a good pennyworth from the merchants while they lay under this reſtraint.

The parliament pretended to the right of enacting laws, as well as of granting ſubſidies; but this privilege was, during that age, ſtill more inſignificant than the other. Queen Elizabeth expreſsly prohibited them from meddling either with ſtate matters or eccleſiaſtical cauſes; and ſhe openly ſent the members to priſon who dared to tranſgreſs her imperial edict in theſe particulars. There paſſed few ſeſſions of parliament during her reign where there occur not inſtances of this arbitrary conduct.

But the legiſlative power of the parliament was a mere fallacy, while the ſovereign was univerſally acknowledged to poſſeſs a diſpenſing power, by which all the laws could be invalidated and rendered of no effect. The exerciſe of this power was alſo an indirect method practiſed for erecting monopolies. Where the ſtatutes laid any branch of manufacture under reſtrictions, the ſovereign, by exempting one perſon from the laws, gave him in effect the monopoly of that commodity.[p] There was no grievance at that time more univerſally complained of than the frequent diſpenſing with the penal laws.[q]

But in reality the crown poſſeſſed the full legiſlative power by means of proclamations, which might affect any matter even of the greateſt importance, and which the ſtar chamber took

care to ſee more rigorouſly executed than the laws themſelves. The motives for theſe proclamations were ſometimes frivolous and even ridiculous. Queen Elizabeth had taken offence at the ſmell of woad; and ſhe iſſued an edict prohibiting any one from cultivating that uſeful plant.[r] She was alſo pleaſed to take offence at the long ſwords and high ruffs then in faſhion: ſhe ſent about her officers to break every man's ſword, and clip every man's ruff, which was beyond a certain dimenſion.[s] This practice reſembles the method employed by the great czar Peter, to make his ſubjects change their garb.

The queen's prohibition of the propheſyings, or the aſſemblies inſtituted for fanatical prayers and conferences, was founded on a better reaſon; but ſhews ſtill the unlimited extent of her prerogative. Any number of perſons could not meet together in order to read the ſcriptures, and confer about religion, though in ever ſo orthodox a manner, without her permiſſion.

There were many other branches of prerogative incompatible with an exact or regular enjoyment of liberty. None of the nobility could marry without permiſſion from the ſovereign. The queen detained the earl of Southampton long in priſon becauſe he privately married the earl of Eſſex's couſin.[t] No man could travel without the conſent of the prince. Sir William Evers underwent a ſevere perſecution becauſe he had preſumed to pay a private viſit to the king of Scots.[u] The ſovereign even aſſumed a ſupreme and uncontrolled authority over all foreign trade; and neither allowed any perſon to enter or depart the kingdom, nor any commodity to be imported or exported, without his conſent.[v]

The parliament, in the thirteenth of the queen, praiſed her for not imitating the practice uſual among her predeceſſors, of ſtopping the courſe of juſtice by particular warrants.[w] There could not poſſibly be a greater abuſe, nor a ſtronger mark of

arbitrary power; and the queen in refraining from it was very laudable. But ſhe was by no means conſtant in this reſerve. There remain in the public records ſome warrants of her's for exempting particular perſons from all lawſuits[x] and proſecutions; and theſe warrants, ſhe ſays, ſhe grants from her royal prerogative, which ſhe will not allow to be diſputed.

It was very uſual in queen Elizabeth's reign, and probably in all the preceding reigns, for noblemen or privy counſellors to commit to priſon any one who had happened to diſpleaſe them, by ſuing for his juſt debts; and the unhappy perſon, though he gained his cauſe in the courts of juſtice, was commonly obliged to relinquiſh his property in order to obtain his liberty. Some, likewiſe, who had been delivered from priſon by the judges, were again committed to cuſtody in ſecret places, without any poſſibility of obtaining relief; and even the officers and ſerjeants of the courts of law were puniſhed for executing the writs in favour of theſe perſons. Nay, it was uſual to ſend for people by purſuivants, a kind of harpies, who then attended the orders of the council and high commiſſion; and they were brought up to London, and conſtrained, by impriſonment, not only to withdraw their lawful ſuits, but alſo to pay the purſuivants great ſums of money. The judges, in the thirty-fourth of the queen, complain to her majeſty of the frequency of this practice. It is probable that ſo egregious a tyranny was carried no farther down than the reign of Elizabeth; ſince the parliament, who preſented the petition of right,[y] found no later inſtances of it. And even theſe very judges of Elizabeth who thus protect the people againſt the tyranny of the great, expreſsly allow that a perſon committed by ſpecial command of the queen is not bailable.

It is eaſy to imagine that, in ſuch a government, no juſtice could by courſe of law be obtained of the ſovereign, unleſs he

were willing to allow it. In the naval expedition undertaken by Raleigh and Frobiſher againſt the Spaniards, in the year 1592, a very rich carrack was taken, worth two hundred thouſand pounds. The queen's ſhare in the adventure was only a tenth; but, as the prize was ſo great, and exceeded ſo much the expectation of all the adventurers, ſhe was determined not to reſt contented with her ſhare. Raleigh humbly and earneſtly begged her to accept of a hundred thouſand pounds in lieu of all demands, or rather extortions; and ſays that the preſent which the proprietors were willing to make her, of eighty thouſand pounds, was the greateſt that ever prince received from a ſubject.*

But it is no wonder the queen in her adminiſtration ſhould pay ſo little regard to liberty, while the parliament itſelf in enacting laws was entirely negligent of it. The perſecuting ſtatutes which they paſſed againſt papiſts and puritans are extremely contrary to the genius of freedom; and, by expoſing ſuch multitudes to the tyranny of prieſts and bigots, accuſtomed the people to the moſt diſgraceful ſubjection. Their conferring an unlimited ſupremacy on the queen, or (what is worſe) acknowledging her inherent right to it, was another proof of their voluntary ſervitude.

The law of the twenty-third of her reign, making ſeditious words againſt the queen capital, is alſo a very tyrannical ſtatute; and a uſe no leſs tyrannical was ſometimes made of it. The caſe of Udal, a puritanical clergyman, ſeems ſingular even in thoſe arbitrary times. This man had publiſhed a book called a Demonſtration of Diſcipline, in which he inveighed againſt the government of biſhops; and, though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into priſon upon ſuſpicion, and brought to a trial for this offence. It was pretended that the biſhops were part of the queen's political body;

and to ſpeak againſt them was really to attack her, and was therefore felony by the ſtatute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udal was expoſed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any thing but the fact, whether Udal had written the book or not, without examining his intention or the import of the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers did not produce a ſingle witneſs to the court: they only read the teſtimony of two perſons abſent, one of whom ſaid that Udal had told him he was the author; another, that a friend of Udal's had ſaid ſo. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence, which they ſaid was never to be permitted againſt the crown.[a] And they tendered him an oath, by which he was required to depoſe that he was not the author of the book; and his refuſal to make that depoſition was employed as the ſtrongeſt proof of his guilt. It is almoſt needleſs to add that, notwithſtanding theſe multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury againſt Udal; for, as the queen was extremely bent upon his proſecution, it was impoſſible he could eſcape.[b] He died in priſon before execution of the ſentence.

The caſe of Penry was, if poſſible, ſtill harder. This man was a zealous puritan, or rather a Browniſt, a ſmall ſect, which afterwards increaſed, and received the name of Independants. He had written againſt the hierarchy ſeveral tracts, ſuch as Martin Marprelate, Theſes Martinianæ, and other compoſitions, full of low ſcurrility and petulant ſatire. After concealing himſelf for ſome years, he was ſeized; and, as the ſtatute againſt ſeditious words required that the criminal ſhould be tried within a year after committing the offence, he could not be indicted for his printed books; he was therefore tried for ſome papers found in his pocket, as if he had thereby ſcattered ſedition.[c] It was alſo imputed to him, by the lord keeper Puckering, that in ſome

of theſe papers 'he had not only acknowledged her majeſty's royal power to eſtabliſh laws, eccleſiaſtical and civil; but had avoided the uſual terms of making, enacting, decreeing, and ordaining laws: which imply,' ſays the lord keeper, 'a moſt abſolute [d] authority.' Penry, for theſe offences, was condemned and executed.

Thus we have ſeen that the moſt abſolute authority of the ſovereign, to make uſe of the lord keeper's expreſſion, was eſtabliſhed on above twenty branches of prerogative, which are now aboliſhed, and which were, every one of them, totally incompatible with the liberty of the ſubject. But what enſured more effectually the ſlavery of the people, than even theſe branches of prerogative, was the eſtabliſhed principles of the times, which attributed to the prince ſuch an unlimited and indefeaſible power as was ſuppoſed to be the origin of all law, and could be circumſcribed by none. The homilies publiſhed for the uſe of the clergy, and which they were enjoined to read every Sunday in all the churches, inculcate every where a blind and unlimited paſſive obedience to the prince, which, on no account, and under no pretence, it is ever lawful for ſubjects in the ſmalleſt article to depart from or infringe. Much noiſe has been made becauſe ſome court chaplains during the ſucceeding reigns were permitted to preach ſuch doctrines; but there is a great difference between theſe ſermons and diſcourſes publiſhed by authority, avowed by the prince and council, and promulgated to the whole nation.[e] So thoroughly were theſe principles imbibed by the people, during the reigns of Elizabeth and her predeceſſors, that oppoſition to them was regarded as the moſt flagrant ſedition, and was not even rewarded by that public praiſe and approbation which can alone ſupport men under ſuch dangers and difficulties as attend the reſiſtance of tyrannical authority.[f] It was only during the next generation that the noble principles

of liberty took root, and, ſpreading themſelves under the ſhelter of puritanical abſurdities, became faſhionable among the people.

It is worth remarking that the advantage uſually aſcribed to abſolute monarchy, a greater regularity of police, and a more ſtrict execution of the laws, did not attend the former Engliſh government, though in many reſpects it fell under that denomination. A demonſtration of this truth is contained in a judicious paper which is preſerved by Strype,[g] and which was written by an eminent juſtice of peace of Somerſetſhire, in the year 1596, near the end of the queen's reign; when the authority of that princeſs may be ſuppoſed to be fully corroborated by time, and her maxims of government improved by long practice. This paper contains an account of the diſorders which then prevailed in the county of Somerſet. The author ſays that forty perſons had there been executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; thirty-five burnt in the hand, thirty-ſeven whipped, one hundred and eighty-three diſcharged; that thoſe who were diſcharged were moſt wicked and deſperate perſons, who never could come to any good, becauſe they would not work, and none would take them into ſervice: that, notwithſtanding this great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to a trial; the greater number eſcaped cenſure, either from the ſuperior cunning of the felons, the remiſſneſs of the magiſtrates, or the fooliſh lenity of the people: that the rapines committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to keep a perpetual watch over the ſheep-folds, their paſtures, their woods, and their corn-fields: that the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somerſetſhire; and many of them were even in a worſe: that there were at leaſt three or four hundred able-bodied vagabonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine; and

who ſometimes met in troops to the number of ſixty, and committed ſpoil on the inhabitants: that, if all the felons of this kind were aſſembled, they would be able, if reduced to good ſubjection, to give the greateſt enemy her majeſty has a ſtrong battle: and that the magiſtrates themſelves were intimidated from executing the laws upon them; and there were inſtances of juſtices of peace who, after giving ſentence againſt rogues, had interpoſed to ſtop the execution of their own ſentence, on account of the danger which hung over them from the confederates of theſe felons.

In the year 1575 the queen complained in parliament of the bad execution of the laws; and threatened that, if the magiſtrates were not for the future more vigilant, ſhe would intruſt authority to indigent and needy perſons, who would find an intereſt in a more exact adminiſtration of juſtice.[h] It appears that ſhe was as good as her word: for in the year 1601 there were great complaints made in parliament of the rapine of juſtices of peace; and a member ſaid that this magiſtrate was an animal who for half a dozen of chickens would diſpenſe with a dozen of penal ſtatutes.[i] It is not eaſy to account for this relaxation of government and neglect of police during a reign of ſo much vigour as that of Elizabeth: the ſmall revenue of the crown is the moſt likely cauſe that can be aſſigned. The queen had it not in her power to intereſt a great number in aſſiſting her to execute the laws.[k]

On the whole, the Engliſh have no reaſon, from the example of their anceſtors, to be in love with the picture of abſolute monarchy; or to prefer the unlimited authority of the prince and his unbounded prerogatives to that noble liberty, that ſweet equality, and that happy ſecurity, by which they are at preſent diſtinguiſhed above all nations in the univerſe. The utmoſt that can be ſaid in favour of the government of that age (and per-

haps it may be ſaid with truth) is, that the power of the prince, though really unlimited, was exerciſed after the European manner, and entered not into every part of the adminiſtration; that the inſtances of a high exerted prerogative were not ſo frequent as to render property ſenſibly inſecure, or reduce the people to a total ſervitude; that the freedom from faction, the quickneſs of execution, and the promptitude of thoſe meaſures, which could be taken for offence or defence, made ſome compenſation for the want of a legal and determinate liberty; that, as the prince commanded no mercenary army, there was a tacit check on him, which maintained the government in that medium to which the people had been accuſtomed; and that this ſituation of England, though ſeemingly it approached nearer, was in reality more remote from, a deſpotic and eaſtern monarchy than the preſent government of that kingdom, where the people, though guarded by multiplied laws, are totally naked, defenceleſs, and diſarmed; and, beſides, are not ſecured by any middle power, or independent powerful nobility, interpoſed between them and the monarch.

We ſhall cloſe the preſent appendix with a brief account of the revenues, the military force, the commerce, the arts, and the learning, of England during this period.

REVENUES.

Queen Elizabeth's economy was remarkable; and in ſome inſtances ſeemed to border on avarice. The ſmalleſt expenſe, if it could poſſibly be ſpared, appeared conſiderable in her eyes; and even the charge of an expreſs, during the moſt delicate tranſactions, was not below her notice.[1] She was alſo attentive to every profit, and embraced opportunities of gain which may appear ſomewhat extraordinary. She kept, for inſtance, the ſee

of Ely vacant nineteen years,[m] in order to retain the revenue; and it was uſual with her, when ſhe promoted a biſhop, to take the opportunity of pillaging the ſee of ſome of its manors.[n] But that in reality there was little or no avarice in the queen's temper, appears from this circumſtance, that ſhe never amaſſed any treaſure; and even refuſed ſubſidies from the parliament when ſhe had no preſent occaſion for them. Yet we muſt not conclude, from this circumſtance, that her economy proceeded from a tender concern for her people: ſhe loaded them with monopolies and excluſive patents, which are much more oppreſſive than the moſt heavy taxes levied in an equal and regular manner. The real ſource of her frugal conduct was derived from her deſire of independency, and her care to preſerve her dignity, which would have been endangered had ſhe reduced herſelf to the neceſſity of having frequent recourſe to parliamentary ſupplies. In conſequence of this motive, the queen, though engaged in ſucceſsful and neceſſary wars, thought it more prudent to make a continual dilapidation of the royal demeſnes [o] than demand the moſt moderate ſupplies from the commons. As ſhe lived unmarried, and had no poſterity, ſhe was content to ſerve her preſent turn, though at the expenſe of her ſucceſſors; who, by reaſon of this policy, joined to other circumſtances, found themſelves on a ſudden reduced to the moſt extreme indigence.

The ſplendour of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and, as Elizabeth was a ſingle woman, and expenſive in no kind of magnificence except clothes, this circumſtance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is ſaid to have paid four millions of debt, left on the crown by her father, brother, and ſiſter; an incredible ſum for that age.[p] The States, at the time of her death, owed her about eight hundred thouſand pounds; and the king of France

four hundred and fifty thouſand.[q] Though that prince was extremely frugal, and after the peace of Vervins was continually amaſſing treaſure, the queen never could, by the moſt preſſing importunities, prevail on him to make payment of thoſe ſums which ſhe had ſo generouſly advanced him during his greateſt diſtreſſes. One payment of twenty thouſand crowns, and another of fifty thouſand, were all ſhe could obtain by the ſtrongeſt repreſentations ſhe could make of the difficulties to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her.[r] The queen expended on the wars with Spain, between the years 1589 and 1593, the ſum of one million three hundred thouſand pounds, beſides the pittance of a double ſubſidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, granted her by parliament.[s] In the year 1599 ſhe ſpent ſix hundred thouſand pounds in ſix months on the ſervice of Ireland.[t] Sir Robert Cecil affirmed that in ten years Ireland coſt her [u] three millions four hundred thouſand pounds. She gave the earl of Eſſex a preſent of thirty thouſand pounds upon his departure for the government of that kingdom.[w] Lord Burleigh computed that the value of the gifts conferred on that favourite amounted to three hundred thouſand pounds; a ſum which, though probably exaggerated, is a proof of her ſtrong affection towards him. It was a common ſaying during this reign, 'The queen pays bountifully,[x] though ſhe rewards ſparingly.'

It is difficult to compute exactly the queen's ordinary revenue, but it certainly fell much ſhort of five hundred thouſand pounds a year.[y] In the year 1590 ſhe raiſed the cuſtoms from fourteen thouſand pounds a year to fifty thouſand; and obliged ſir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to refund ſome of his former profit.[z] This improvement of the revenue was owing to the ſuggeſtions of one Caermarthen; and was oppoſed by Burleigh, Leiceſter, and Walſingham: but the queen's perſeverance

overcame all their oppoſition. The great undertakings which ſhe executed with ſo narrow a revenue, and with ſuch ſmall ſupplies from her people, prove the mighty effects of wiſdom and economy. She received from the parliament, during the courſe of her whole reign, only twenty ſubſidies and thirty-nine fifteenths. I pretend not to determine exactly the amount of theſe ſupplies, becauſe the value of a ſubſidy was continually falling, and in the end of her reign it amounted only to eighty thouſand pounds.[a] If we ſuppoſe that the ſupplies granted Elizabeth during a reign of forty-five years amounted to three millions, we ſhall not probably be much wide of the truth.[b] This ſum makes only ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds a year; and it is ſurpriſing that, while the queen's demands were ſo moderate, and her expenſes ſo well regulated, ſhe ſhould ever have found any difficulty in obtaining a ſupply from parliament, or be reduced to make ſale of the crown lands. But ſuch was the extreme, I had almoſt ſaid abſurd, parſimony of the parliaments during that period. They valued nothing in compariſon of their money. The members had no connexion with the court; and the very idea which they conceived of the truſt committed to them was, to reduce the demands of the crown, and to grant as few ſupplies as poſſible. The crown, on the other hand, conceived the parliament in no other light than as a means of ſupply. Queen Elizabeth made a merit to her people of ſeldom ſummoning parliaments.[c] No redreſs of grievances was expected from theſe aſſemblies; they were ſuppoſed to meet for no other purpoſe than to impoſe taxes.

Before the reign of Elizabeth the Engliſh princes had uſually recourſe to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was ſo low, that, beſides paying the high intereſt of ten or twelve per cent. they were obliged to make the city of London join in the ſecurity. Sir Thomas Greſham, that great and

enterprifing merchant, one of the chief ornaments of this reign, engaged the company of merchant-adventurers to grant a loan to the queen; and, as the money was regularly repaid, her credit by degrees eſtabliſhed itſelf in the city, and ſhe ſhook off this dependance on foreigners.[d]

In the year 1559, however, the queen employed Greſham to borrow for her two hundred thouſand pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coin, which was at that time extremely debaſed.[e] She was ſo impolitic as to make, herſelf, an innovation in the coin, by dividing a pound of ſilver into ſixty-two ſhillings, inſtead of ſixty, the former ſtandard. This is the laſt time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

COMMERCE.

Queen Elizabeth, ſenſible how much the defence of her kingdom depended on its naval power, was deſirous to encourage commerce and navigation: but, as her monopolies tended to extinguiſh all domeſtic induſtry, which is much more valuable than foreign trade, and is the foundation of it, the general train of her conduct was ill calculated to ſerve the purpoſe at which ſhe aimed, much leſs to promote the riches of her people. The excluſive companies alſo were an immediate check on foreign trade. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, the ſpirit of the age was ſtrongly bent on naval enterpriſes; and, beſides the military expeditions againſt the Spaniards, many attempts were made for new diſcoveries, and many new branches of foreign commerce were opened by the Engliſh. Sir Martin Frobiſher undertook three fruitleſs voyages to diſcover the north-weſt paſſage: Davis, not diſcouraged by this ill ſucceſs, made a new attempt, when he diſcovered the ſtraits which paſs by his name. In the year 1600 the queen granted the firſt patent to the Eaſt

India company: the ſtock of that company was ſeventy-two thouſand pounds; and they fitted out four ſhips, under the command of James Lancaſter, for this new branch of trade. The adventure was ſucceſsful; and, the ſhips returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to continue the commerce.

The communication with Muſcovy had been opened in queen Mary's time by the diſcovery of the paſſage to Archangel: but the commerce to that country did not begin to be carried on to a great extent till about the year 1569. The queen obtained from the czar an excluſive patent to the Engliſh for the whole trade of Muſcovy;[f] and ſhe entered into a perſonal as well as national alliance with him. This czar was named John Baſilides, a furious tyrant, who, continually ſuſpecting the revolt of his ſubjects, ſtipulated to have a ſafe retreat and protection in England. In order the better to enſure this reſource, he purpoſed to marry an Engliſh woman; and the queen intended to have ſent him lady Anne Haſtings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon: but, when the lady was informed of the barbarous manners of the country, ſhe wiſely declined purchaſing an empire at the expenſe of her eaſe and ſafety.[g]

The Engliſh, encouraged by the privileges which they had obtained from Baſilides, ventured farther into thoſe countries than any Europeans had formerly done. They tranſported their goods along the river Dwina in boats made of one entire tree, which they towed and rowed up the ſtream as far as Walogda. Thence they carried their commodities ſeven days journey by land to Yeraſlau, and then down the Volga to Aſtracan. At Aſtracan they built ſhips, croſſed the Caſpian ſea, and diſtributed their manufactures into Perſia. But this bold attempt met with ſuch diſcouragements, that it was never renewed.[h]

After the death of John Baſilides, his ſon Theodore revoked the patent which the Engliſh enjoyed for a monopoly of the

Ruſſian trade: when the queen remonſtrated againſt this innovation, he told her miniſters that princes muſt carry an indifferent hand, as well between their ſubjects as between foreigners; and not convert trade, which by the laws of nations ought to be common to all,[i] into a monopoly for the private gain of a few. So much juſter notions of commerce were entertained by this barbarian than appear in the conduct of the renowned queen Elizabeth! Theodore, however, continued ſome privileges to the Engliſh, on account of their being the diſcoverers of the communication between Europe and his country.

The trade to Turkey commenced about the year 1583; and that commerce was immediately confined to a company by queen Elizabeth. Before that time the grand ſignior had always conceived England to be a dependent province of France;[k] but, having heard of the queen's power and reputation, he gave a good reception to the Engliſh, and even granted them larger privileges than he had given to the French.

The merchants of the Hanſe-towns complained loudly, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, of the treatment which they had received in the reigns of Edward and Mary. She prudently replied that, as ſhe would not innovate any thing, ſhe would ſtill protect them in the immunities and privileges of which ſhe found them poſſeſſed. This anſwer not contenting them, their commerce was ſoon after ſuſpended for a time, to the great advantage of the Engliſh merchants, who tried what they could themſelves effect for promoting their commerce. They took the whole trade into their own hands; and, their returns proving ſucceſsful, they divided themſelves into ſtaplers and merchant adventurers; the former reſiding conſtantly at one place, the latter trying their fortunes in other towns and ſtates abroad with cloth and other manufactures. This ſucceſs ſo enraged the Hanſe-towns, that they tried all the methods which a dif-

contented people could deviſe to draw upon the Engliſh merchants the ill opinion of other nations and ſtates. They prevailed ſo far as to obtain an imperial edict, by which the Engliſh were prohibited all commerce in the empire. The queen, by way of retaliation, retained ſixty of their ſhips, which had been ſeized in the river Tagus with contraband goods of the Spaniards. Theſe ſhips the queen intended to have reſtored, as deſiring to have compromiſed all differences with thoſe trading cities; but, when ſhe was informed that a general aſſembly was held at Lubec, in order to concert meaſures for diſtreſſing the Engliſh trade, ſhe cauſed the ſhips and cargoes to be confiſcated: only two of them were releaſed to carry home the news, and to inform theſe ſtates that ſhe had the greateſt contempt imaginable for all their proceedings.[l]

Henry VIII, in order to fit out a navy, was obliged to hire ſhips from Hamburgh, Lubec, Dantzic, Genoa, and Venice: but Elizabeth, very early in her reign, put affairs upon a better footing; both by building ſome ſhips of her own, and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading veſſels, which on occaſion were converted into ſhips of war.[m] In the year 1582 the ſeamen in England were found to be fourteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five men;[n] the number of veſſels twelve hundred and thirty-two; of which there were only two hundred and ſeventeen above eighty tons. Monſon pretends that, though navigation decayed in the firſt years of James I, by the practice of the merchants,[o] who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms, yet before the year 1640 this number of ſeamen was tripled in England.[p]

MILITARY FORCE.

The navy which the queen left at her deceaſe appears conſiderable when we reflect only on the number of veſſels, which were

forty-two: but, when we conſider that none of theſe ſhips carried above forty guns; that four only came up to that number; that there were but two ſhips of a thouſand tons; and twenty-three below five hundred, ſome of fifty, and ſome even of twenty tons; and that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four;[q] we muſt entertain a contemptible idea of the Engliſh navy, compared to the force which it has now attained.[r] In the year 1588 there were not above five veſſels fitted out by the noblemen and ſeaports which exceeded two hundred tons.[s]

In the year 1599 an alarm was given of an invaſion by the Spaniards; and the queen equipped a fleet and levied an army in a fortnight to oppoſe them. Nothing gave foreigners a higher idea of the power of England than this ſudden armament. In the year 1575 all the militia in the kingdom were computed at a hundred and eighty-two thouſand nine hundred and twenty-nine.[t] A diſtribution was made in the year 1595 of a hundred and forty thouſand men, beſides thoſe which Wales could ſupply.[u] Theſe armies were formidable by their numbers; but their diſcipline and experience were not proportionate. Small bodies from Dunkirk and Newport frequently ran over and plundered the eaſt coaſt; ſo unfit was the militia, as it was then conſtituted, for the defence of the kingdom. The lord lieutenants were firſt appointed to the counties in this reign.

Mr. Murden [w] has publiſhed, from the Saliſbury collections, a paper which contains the military force of the nation at the time of the Spaniſh Armada, and which is ſomewhat different from the account given by our ordinary hiſtorians. It makes all the able-bodied men of the kingdom amount to a hundred and eleven thouſand five hundred and thirteen; thoſe armed, to eighty thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-five; of whom forty-four thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven were trained

It muſt be ſuppoſed that theſe able-bodied men conſiſted of ſuch only as were regiſtered, otherwiſe the ſmall number is not to be accounted for. Yet ſir Edward Coke [x] ſaid, in the houſe of commons, that he was employed about the ſame time, together with Popham, chief juſtice, to take a ſurvey of all the people of England, and that they found them to be nine hundred thouſand of all ſorts. This number, by the ordinary rules of computation, ſuppoſes that there were above two hundred thouſand men able to bear arms. Yet even this number is ſurpriſingly ſmall. Can we ſuppoſe that the kingdom is ſix or ſeven times more populous at preſent? And that Murden's was the real number of men, excluding catholics and children and infirm perſons?

Harriſon ſays that, in the muſters taken in the years 1574 and 1575, the men fit for ſervice amounted to one million one hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-four; yet was it believed that a full third was omitted. Such uncertainty and contradiction are there in all theſe accounts. Notwithſtanding the greatneſs of this number, the ſame author complains much of the decay of populouſneſs: a vulgar complaint in all places and all ages. Guicciardini makes the inhabitants of England in this reign amount to two millions.

Whatever opinion we may form of the comparative populouſneſs of England in different periods, it muſt be allowed that, abſtracting from the national debt, there is a prodigious increaſe of power in that, more perhaps than in any other European ſtate ſince the beginning of the laſt century. It would be no paradox to affirm that Ireland alone could at preſent exert a greater force than all the three kingdoms were capable of at the death of queen Elizabeth. And we might go farther, and aſſert that one good county in England is able to make, at leaſt to ſupport, a greater effort than the whole kingdom was capable of in the

reign of Harry V; when the maintenance of a garriſon in a ſmall town like Calais formed more than a third of the ordinary national expenſe. Such are the effects of liberty, induſtry, and good government!

The ſtate of the Engliſh manufactures was at this time very low;[y] and foreign wares of almoſt all kinds had the preference. About the year 1590 there were in London four perſons only rated in the ſubſidy books [z] ſo high as four hundred pounds. This computation is not indeed to be deemed an exact eſtimate of their wealth. In 1567 there were found, on inquiry, to be four thouſand eight hundred and fifty-one ſtrangers of all nations in London: of whom three thouſand eight hundred and thirty-eight were Flemings, and only fifty-eight Scots.[a] The perſecutions in France and the Low Countries drove afterwards a greater number of foreigners into England; and the commerce as well as manufactures of that kingdom was very much improved by them.[b] It was then that ſir Thomas Greſham built, at his own charge, the magnificent fabric of the exchange for the reception of the merchants: the queen viſited it, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange.

By a lucky accident in language, which has a great effect on men's ideas, the invidious word uſury, which formerly meant the taking of any intereſt for money, came now to expreſs only the taking of exorbitant and illegal intereſt. An act paſſed in 1571 violently condemns all uſury; but permits ten per cent. intereſt to be payed. Henry IV of France reduced intereſt to ſix and a half per cent. An indication of the great advance of France above England in commerce.

Dr. Howel ſays [c] that queen Elizabeth, in the third of her reign, was preſented with a pair of black ſilk knit ſtockings by her ſilkwoman, and never wore cloth hoſe any more. The author of 'The preſent State of England' ſays that about 1577 pocket

watches were firſt brought into England from Germany. They are thought to have been invented at Nuremberg. About 1580 the uſe of coaches was introduced by the earl of Arundel.[d] Before that time the queen, on public occaſions, rode behind her chamberlain.

Camden ſays that in 1581 Randolph, ſo much employed by the queen in foreign embaſſies, poſſeſſed the office of poſt-maſter-general of England. It appears, therefore, that poſts were then eſtabliſhed; though, from Charles I's regulations in 1635, it would ſeem that few poſt houſes were erected before that time.

In a remonſtrance of the Hanſe-towns to the diet of the empire, in 1582, it is affirmed that England exported annually about two hundred thouſand pieces of cloth.[e] This number ſeems to be much exaggerated.

In the fifth of this reign was enacted the firſt law for the relief of the poor.

A judicious author of that age confirms the vulgar obſervation, that the kingdom was depopulating from the increaſe of encloſures and decay of tillage; and he aſcribes the reaſon very juſtly to the reſtraints put on the exportation of corn; while full liberty was allowed to export all the produce of paſturage, ſuch as wool, hides, leather, tallow, &c. Theſe prohibitions of exportation were derived from the prerogative, and were very injudicious. The queen, once, on the commencement of her reign, had tried a contrary practice, and with good ſucceſs. From the ſame author we learn that the complaints renewed in our time were then very common concerning the high prices of every thing.[f] There ſeems, indeed, to have been two periods in which prices roſe remarkably in England, namely, that in queen Elizabeth's reign, when they are computed to have doubled, and that in the preſent age. Between the two there ſeems to have been a ſtagnation. It would appear that induſtry, during that inter-

HERBERT
CAVENDISH
FROBISHER
HOWARD
DRAKE
CUMBERLAND
RALEIGH
HUNTINGDON

mediate period, increaſed as faſt as gold and ſilver, and kept commodities nearly at a par with money.

There were two attempts made in this reign to ſettle colonies in America; one by ſir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland, another by ſir Walter Raleigh in Virginia: but neither of theſe projects proved ſucceſsful. All thoſe noble ſettlements were made in the following reigns. The current ſpecie of the kingdom in the end of this reign is computed at four millions.[g]

The earl of Leiceſter deſired ſir Francis Walſingham, then ambaſſador in France, to provide him with a riding maſter in that country, to whom he promiſes a hundred pounds a year, beſides maintaining himſelf and ſervant and a couple of horſes. 'I know,' adds the earl, 'that ſuch a man as I want may receive higher wages in France: but let him conſider that a ſhilling in England goes as far as two ſhillings [h] in France.' It is known that every thing is much changed ſince that time.

MANNERS.

The nobility in this age ſtill ſupported, in ſome degree, the ancient magnificence in their hoſpitality, and in the numbers of their retainers; and the queen found it prudent to retrench, by proclamation, their expenſes in this laſt particular.[i] The expenſe of hoſpitality ſhe ſomewhat encouraged by the frequent viſits ſhe paid her nobility, and the ſumptuous feaſts which ſhe received from them.[k] The earl of Leiceſter gave her an entertainment in Kenilworth caſtle, which was extraordinary for expenſe and magnificence. Among other particulars, we are told that three hundred and ſixty-five hogſheads of beer were drunk at it.[l] The earl had fortified this caſtle at great expenſe; and it contained arms for ten thouſand men.[m] The earl of Derby had a family conſiſting of two hundred and forty ſervants.[n] Stowe remarks it

as a ſingular proof of beneficence in this nobleman, that he was contented with his rent from his tenants, and exacted not any extraordinary ſervices from them: a proof that the great power of the ſovereign (what was almoſt unavoidable) had very generally countenanced the nobility in tyranniſing over the people. Burleigh, though he was frugal, and had no paternal eſtate, kept a family conſiſting of a hundred ſervants.[o] He had a ſtanding table for gentlemen, and two other tables for perſons of meaner condition, which were always ſerved alike, whether he were in town or in the country. About his perſon he had people of great diſtinction, inſomuch that he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers, who had each a thouſand pounds a year; and as many among his ordinary ſervants, who were worth from a thouſand pounds to three, five, ten,[p] and twenty thouſand pounds. It is to be remarked that, though the revenues of the crown were at that time very ſmall, the miniſters and courtiers ſometimes found means, by employing the boundleſs prerogative, to acquire greater fortunes than it is poſſible for them at preſent to amaſs from their larger ſalaries and more limited authority.

Burleigh entertained the queen twelve ſeveral times in his country houſe; where ſhe remained three, four, or five weeks at a time. Each viſit coſt him two or three thouſand pounds.[q] The quantity of ſilver plate poſſeſſed by this nobleman is ſurpriſing: no leſs than fourteen or fifteen thouſand pounds weight;[r] which, beſides the faſhion, would be above forty-two thouſand pounds ſterling in value. Yet Burleigh left only four thouſand pounds a year in land, and eleven thouſand pounds in money; and, as land was then commonly ſold at ten years purchaſe, his plate was nearly equal to all the reſt of his fortune. It appears that little value was then put upon the faſhion of the plate, which probably was but rude; the weight was chiefly conſidered.[s]

But, though there were preſerved great remains of the ancient cuſtoms, the nobility were by degrees acquiring a taſte for elegant luxury; and many edifices in particular were built by them, neat, large, and ſumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, ſays Camden;[t] but to the no leſs decay of the glorious hoſpitality of the nation. It is, however, more reaſonable to think that this new turn of expenſe promoted arts and induſtry; while the ancient hoſpitality was the ſource of vice, diſorder, ſedition, and idleneſs.[u]

Among the other ſpecies of luxury, that of apparel began much to increaſe during this age; and the queen thought proper to reſtrain it by proclamation.[w] Her example was very little conformable to her edicts. As no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, or more deſirous of making impreſſion on the hearts of beholders, no one ever went to a greater extravagance in apparel, or ſtudied more the variety and richneſs of her dreſſes. She appeared almoſt every day in a different habit; and tried all the ſeveral modes by which ſhe hoped to render herſelf agreeable. She was alſo ſo fond of her clothes, that ſhe never could part with any of them; and at her death ſhe had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thouſand, which ſhe had ever worn in her lifetime.[x]

The retrenchment of the ancient hoſpitality, and the diminution of retainers, were favourable to the prerogative of the ſovereign; and, by diſabling the great noblemen from reſiſtance, promoted the execution of the laws, and extended the authority of the courts of juſtice. There were many peculiar cauſes in the ſituation and character of Henry VII which augmented the authority of the crown: moſt of theſe cauſes concurred in ſucceeding princes; together with the factions in religion, and the acquiſition of the ſupremacy, a moſt important article of prerogative. But the manners of the age were a general cauſe which

operated during this whole period, and which continually tended to diminiſh the riches, and ſtill more the influence of the ariſtocracy, anciently ſo formidable to the crown. The habits of luxury diſſipated the immenſe fortunes of the ancient barons; and, as the new methods of expenſe gave ſubſiſtence to mechanics and merchants, who lived in an independent manner on the fruits of their own induſtry, a nobleman, inſtead of that unlimited aſcendant which he was wont to aſſume over thoſe who were maintained at his board, or ſubſiſted by ſalaries conferred on them, retained only that moderate influence which cuſtomers have over tradeſmen, and which can never be dangerous to civil government. The landed proprietors alſo, having a greater demand for money than for men, endeavoured to turn their lands to the beſt account with regard to profit; and, either encloſing their fields, or joining many ſmall farms into a few large ones, diſmiſſed thoſe uſeleſs hands which formerly were always at their call in every attempt to ſubvert the government, or oppoſe a neighbouring baron. By all theſe means the cities increaſed; the middle rank of men began to be rich and powerful; the prince, who in effect was the ſame with the law, was implicitly obeyed; and, though the farther progreſs of the ſame cauſes begat a new plan of liberty, founded on the privileges of the commons, yet, in the interval between the fall of the nobles and the riſe of this order, the ſovereign took advantage of the preſent ſituation, and aſſumed an authority almoſt abſolute.

Whatever may be commonly imagined, from the authority of lord Bacon, and from that of Harrington and later authors, the laws of Henry VII contributed very little towards the great revolution which happened about this period in the Engliſh conſtitution. The practice of breaking entails by a fine and recovery had been introduced in the preceding reigns; and this prince only gave indirectly a legal ſanction to the practice, by reform-

ing ſome abuſes which attended it. But the ſettled authority which he acquired to the crown enabled the ſovereign to encroach on the ſeparate juriſdictions of the barons, and produced a more general and regular execution of the laws. The counties palatine underwent the ſame fate as the feudal powers; and, by a ſtatute of Henry VIII,[y] the juriſdiction of theſe counties was annexed to the crown, and all writs were ordained to run in the king's name. But the change of manners was the chief cauſe of the ſecret revolution of government, and ſubverted the power of the barons. There appear ſtill in this reign ſome remains of the ancient ſlavery of the boors and peaſants,[z] but none afterwards.

LEARNING.

LEARNING, on its revival, was held in high eſtimation by the Engliſh princes and nobles; and, as it was not yet proſtituted by being too common, even the great deemed it an object of ambition to attain a character for literature. The four ſucceſſive ſovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may on one account or other be admitted into the claſs of authors. Queen Catharine Parr tranſlated a book. Lady Jane Gray, conſidering her age and her ſex and her ſtation, may be regarded as a prodigy of literature. Sir Thomas Smith was raiſed from being profeſſor in Cambridge, firſt to be ambaſſador to France, then ſecretary of ſtate. The diſpatches of thoſe times, and among others thoſe of Burleigh himſelf, are frequently interlarded with quotations from the Greek and Latin claſſics. Even the ladies of the court valued themſelves on knowledge. Lady Burleigh, lady Bacon, and their two ſiſters, were miſtreſſes of the ancient as well as modern languages; and placed more pride in their erudition than in their rank and quality.

Queen Elizabeth wrote and tranſlated ſeveral books; and ſhe was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin [a] tongue. It is pretended that ſhe made an extemporary reply in Greek to the univerſity of Cambridge, who had addreſſed her in that language. It is certain that ſhe anſwered in Latin without premeditation, and in a very ſpirited manner, to the Poliſh ambaſſador, who had been wanting in reſpect to her. When ſhe had finiſhed ſhe turned about to her courtiers, and ſaid, 'God's death, my lords,' (for ſhe was much addicted to ſwearing) 'I have been forced this day to ſcour up my old Latin [b] that hath long lain ruſting.' Elizabeth, even after ſhe was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author; and, next to her deſire of ambition for beauty, this ſeems to have been the chief object of her vanity. She tranſlated Boethius of the Conſolation of Philoſophy; in order, as ſhe pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV's change of religion. As far as we can judge from Elizabeth's compoſitions, we may pronounce that, notwithſtanding her application and her excellent parts, her taſte in literature was but indifferent: ſhe was much inferior to her ſucceſſor in this particular, who was himſelf no perfect model of eloquence.

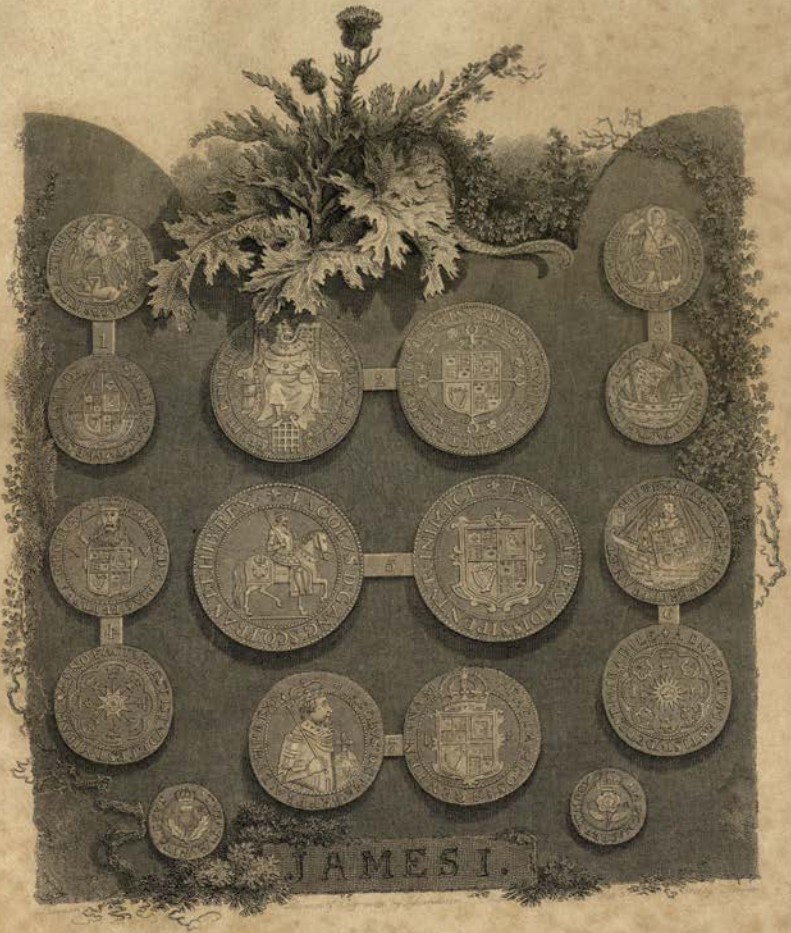
Unhappily for literature, at leaſt for the learned of this age, the queen's vanity lay more in ſhining by her own learning than in encouraging men of genius by her liberality. Spenſer himſelf, the fineſt Engliſh writer of his age, was long neglected; and, after the death of ſir Philip Sydney, his patron, was allowed to die almoſt for want. This poet contains great beauties, a ſweet and harmonious verſification, eaſy elocution, a fine imagination: yet does the peruſal of his work become ſo tedious, that one never finiſhes it from the mere pleaſure which it affords: it ſoon becomes a kind of taſk reading; and it requires ſome effort and reſolution to carry us on to the end of his long

performance. This effect, of which every one is conſcious, is uſually aſcribed to the change of manners: but manners have more changed ſince Homer's age; and yet that poet remains ſtill the favourite of every reader of taſte and judgment. Homer copied true natural manners, which, however rough or uncultivated, will always form an agreeable and intereſting picture: but the pencil of the Engliſh poet was employed in drawing the affectations and conceits and fopperies of chivalry, which appear ridiculous as ſoon as they loſe the recommendation of the mode. The tedioufneſs of continued allegory, and that too ſeldom ſtriking or ingenious, has alſo contributed to render the Fairy Queen peculiarly tireſome; not to mention the too great frequency of its deſcriptions, and the languor of its ſtanza. Upon the whole, Spenſer maintains his place upon the ſhelves among our Engliſh claſſics: but he is ſeldom ſeen on the table; and there is ſcarcely any one, if he dares to be ingenuous, but will confeſs that, notwithſtanding all the merit of the poet, he affords an entertainment with which the palate is ſoon ſatiated. Several writers of late have amuſed themſelves in copying the ſtyle of Spenſer; and no imitation has been ſo indifferent as not to bear a great reſemblance to the original: his manner is ſo peculiar, that it is almoſt impoſſible not to transfer ſome of it into the copy.

JAMES I.

CHAP. XLV. XLVI. XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. AND APPENDIX.

JAMES'S FIRST TRANSACTIONS: STATE OF EUROPE: RALEIGH'S CONSPIRACY: PEACE WITH SPAIN: GUNPOWDER CONSPIRACY: TRUCE BETWIXT SPAIN & THE UNITED PROVINCES: DEATH OF THE FRENCH KING: STATE OF IRELAND. MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH WITH THE PALATINE: FALL OF SOMERSET: RISE OF BUCKINGHAM: AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND: SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S EXPEDITION: HIS EXECUTION: PARTIES: RUPTURE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE COMMONS: PRINCES JOURNEY TO SPAIN: A PARLIAMENT: TREATY WITH FRANCE: DEATH OF THE KING: HIS CHARACTER.


JAMES I.

SHAK
SPEER

CHAPTER XLV.

JAMES I.

1603....1625.

INTRODUCTION....JAMES'S FIRST TRANSACTIONS....STATE OF EUROPE....RALEIGH'S CONSPIRACY....HAMPTON-COURT CONFERENCE ....A PARLIAMENT....PEACE WITH SPAIN.

THE crown of England was never tranſmitted from father to ſon with greater tranquillity than it paſſed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. During the whole reign of Elizabeth the eyes of men had been employed in ſearch of her ſucceſſor; and, when old age made the proſpect of her death more immediate, there appeared none but the king of Scots who could advance any juſt claim or pretenſion to the throne. He was great-grandſon of Margaret, elder daughter of Henry VII; and, on the failure of the male line, his hereditary right remained unqueſtionable. If the religion of Mary queen of Scots, and the other prejudices contracted againſt her, had formed any conſiderable obſtacle to her ſucceſſion, theſe objections, being entirely perſonal, had no place with regard to her ſon. Men alſo conſidered that, though the title, derived from blood, had been frequently violated ſince the Norman conqueſt, ſuch licenſes had proceeded more from force or intrigue than from any deliberate

maxims of government. The lineal heir had ſtill in the end prevailed; and both his excluſion and reſtoration had been commonly attended with ſuch convulſions as were ſufficient to warn all prudent men not lightly to give way to ſuch irregularities. If the will of Henry VIII, authoriſed by act of parliament, had tacitly excluded the Scottiſh line, the tyranny and caprices of that monarch had been ſo ſignal, that a ſettlement of this nature, unſupported by any juſt reaſon, had no authority with the people. Queen Elizabeth too, with her dying breath, had recogniſed the undoubted title of her kinſman James; and the whole nation ſeemed to diſpoſe themſelves with joy and pleaſure for his reception. Though born and educated amidſt a foreign and hoſtile people, men hoped, from his character of moderation and wiſdom, that he would embrace the maxims of an Engliſh monarch; and the prudent foreſaw greater advantages reſulting from a union with Scotland than diſadvantages from ſubmitting to a prince of that nation. The alacrity with which the Engliſh looked toward the ſucceſſor had appeared ſo evident to Elizabeth, that, concurring with other cauſes, it affected her with the deepeſt melancholy; and that wiſe princeſs, whoſe penetration and experience had given her the greateſt inſight into human affairs, had not yet ſufficiently weighed the ingratitude of courtiers and levity of the people.

FIRST TRANSACTIONS OF THIS REIGN. 1603.

As victory abroad and tranquillity at home had attended this princeſs, ſhe left the nation in ſuch flouriſhing circumſtances, that her ſucceſſor poſſeſſed every advantage, except that of compariſon with her illuſtrious name, when he mounted the throne of England. The king's journey from Edinburgh to London immediately afforded to the inquiſitive ſome circumſtances of com-

pariſon, which even the natural partiality in favour of their new ſovereign could not interpret to his advantage. As he paſſed along all ranks of men flocked about him, from every quarter, allured by intereſt or curioſity. Great were the rejoicings, and loud and hearty the acclamations which reſounded from all ſides; and every one could remember how the affability and popular manners of their queen diſplayed themſelves amidſt ſuch concourſe and exultation of her ſubjects. But James, though ſociable and familiar with his friends and courtiers, hated the buſtle of a mixed multitude; and, though far from diſliking flattery, yet was he ſtill fonder of tranquillity and eaſe. He iſſued therefore a proclamation, forbidding this reſort of people, on pretence of the ſcarcity of proviſions, and other inconveniences, which, he ſaid, would neceſſarily attend it.[a]

He was not, however, inſenſible to the great flow of affection which appeared in his new ſubjects; and, being himſelf of an affectionate temper, he ſeems to have been in haſte to make them ſome return of kindneſs and good offices. To this motive, probably, we are to aſcribe that profuſion of titles which was obſerved in the beginning of his reign; when, in ſix weeks time after his entrance into the kingdom, he is computed to have beſtowed knighthood on no leſs than two hundred and thirty-ſeven perſons. If Elizabeth's frugality of honours, as well as of money, had formerly been repined at, it began now to be valued and eſteemed: and every one was ſenſible that the king, by his laviſh and premature conferring of favours, had failed of obliging the perſons on whom he beſtowed them. Titles of all kinds became ſo common, that they were ſcarcely marks of diſtinction; and, being diſtributed without choice or deliberation to perſons unknown to the prince, were regarded more as the proofs of facility and good-nature than of any determined friendſhip or eſteem.

A paſquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, in which an art was promiſed to be taught, very neceſſary to aſſiſt frail memories in retaining the names of the new nobility.[b]

We may preſume that the Engliſh would have thrown leſs blame on the king's facility in beſtowing favours, had theſe been confined entirely to their own nation, and had not been ſhared out, in too unequal proportions, to his old ſubjects. James, who through his whole reign was more guided by temper and inclination than by the rules of political prudence, had brought with him great numbers of his Scottiſh courtiers; whoſe impatience and importunity were apt, in many particulars, to impoſe on the eaſy nature of their maſter, and extort favours, of which, it is natural to imagine, his Engliſh ſubjects would loudly complain. The duke of Lenox, the earl of Marre, lord Hume, lord Kinloſs, ſir George Hume, ſecretary Elphinſtone,[c] were immediately added to the Engliſh privy council. Sir George Hume, whom he created earl of Dunbar, was his declared favourite as long as that nobleman lived, and was one of the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous, though the leaſt powerful, of all thoſe whom the king ever honoured with that diſtinction. Hay, ſome time after, was created viſcount Doncaſter, then earl of Carliſle, and got an immenſe fortune from the crown; all of which he ſpent in a ſplendid and courtly manner. Ramſay obtained the title of earl of Holderneſs; and many others, being raiſed on a ſudden to the higheſt elevation, increaſed, by their inſolence, that envy which naturally attended them as ſtrangers and ancient enemies.

It muſt however be owned, in juſtice to James, that he left almoſt all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's miniſters, and truſted the conduct of political concerns, both foreign and domeſtic, to his Engliſh ſubjects. Among theſe ſecretary Cecil, created ſucceſſively lord Effindon, viſcount Cranborne, and earl of Saliſbury, was always regarded as his prime miniſter and chief

counſellor. Though the capacity and penetration of this miniſter were ſufficiently known, his favour with the king created ſurpriſe on the acceſſion of that monarch. The ſecret correſpondence into which he had entered with James, and which had ſenſibly contributed to the eaſy reception of that prince in England, laid the foundation of Cecil's credit; and, while all his former aſſociates, ſir Walter Raleigh, lord Grey, lord Cobham, were diſcountenanced on account of their animoſity againſt Eſſex,[a] as well as for other reaſons, this miniſter was continued in employment, and treated with the greateſt confidence and regard.

The capacity of James and his miniſters in negociation was immediately put to trial, on the appearance of ambaſſadors from almoſt all the princes and ſtates of Europe, in order to congratulate him on his acceſſion, and to form with him new treaties and alliances. Beſide miniſters from Venice, Denmark, the Palatinate; Henry Frederic of Naſſau, aſſiſted by Barnevelt the penſionary of Holland, was ambaſſador from the ſtates of the United Provinces. Aremberg was ſent by archduke Albert; and Taxis was expected in a little time from Spain. But he who moſt excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his maſter, was the marquis of Roſni, afterwards duke of Sully, prime miniſter and favourite of Henry IV of France.

STATE OF EUROPE.

When the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria devolved on Philip II all Europe was ſtruck with terror, leſt the power of a family, which had been raiſed by fortune, ſhould now be carried to an immeaſurable height by the wiſdom and conduct of this monarch. But never were apprehenſions found in the event to be more groundleſs. Slow without prudence, ambitious without

enterpriſe, falſe without deceiving any body, and refined without any true judgment; ſuch was the character of Philip, and ſuch the character which, during his lifetime and after his death, he impreſſed on the Spaniſh councils. Revolted or depopulated provinces, diſcontented or indolent inhabitants, were the ſpectacles which thoſe dominions, lying in every climate of the globe, preſented to Philip III, a weak prince, and to the duke of Lerma, a miniſter weak and odious. But, though military diſcipline, which ſtill remained, was what alone gave ſome appearance of life and vigour to that languiſhing body, yet ſo great was the terror produced by former power and ambition, that the reduction of the houſe of Auſtria was the object of men's vows throughout all the ſtates of Chriſtendom. It was not perceived that the French empire, now united in domeſtic peace, and governed by the moſt heroic and moſt amiable prince that adorns modern ſtory, was become, of itſelf, a ſufficient counterpoiſe to the Spaniſh greatneſs. Perhaps that prince himſelf did not perceive it when he propoſed, by his miniſter, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns; in order to attack the Auſtrian dominions on every ſide,[e] and depreſs the exorbitant power of that ambitious family. But the genius of the Engliſh monarch was not equal to ſuch vaſt enterpriſes. The love of peace was his ruling paſſion; and it was his peculiar felicity that the conjunctures of the times rendered the ſame object which was agreeable to him in the higheſt degree advantageous to his people.

The French ambaſſador, therefore, was obliged to depart from theſe extenſive views, and to concert with James the means of providing for the ſafety of the United Provinces: nor was this object altogether without its difficulties. The king, before his acceſſion, had entertained ſcruples with regard to the revolt of the Low Countries; and, being commonly open and ſincere,[f] he

had, on many occaſions, gone ſo far as to give to the Dutch the appellation of rebels:[g] but, having converſed more fully with Engliſh miniſters and courtiers, he found their attachment to that republic ſo ſtrong, and their opinion of common intereſt ſo eſtabliſhed, that he was obliged to ſacrifice to politics his ſenſe of juſtice; a quality which, even when erroneous, is reſpectable as well as rare in a monarch. He therefore agreed with Roſni to ſupport ſecretly the States General, in concert with the king of France; leſt their weakneſs and deſpair ſhould oblige them to ſubmit to their old maſter. The articles of the treaty were few and ſimple. It was ſtipulated that the two kings ſhould allow the Dutch to levy force in their reſpective dominions; and ſhould underhand remit to that republic the ſum of one million four hundred thouſand livres a year for the pay of theſe forces: that the whole ſum ſhould be advanced by the king of France; but that the third of it ſhould be deducted from the debt due by him to queen Elizabeth. And, if the Spaniard attacked either of the princes, they agreed to aſſiſt each other; Henry with a force of ten thouſand men, James with that of ſix. This treaty, one of the wiſeſt and moſt equitable concluded by James during the courſe of his reign, was more the work of the prince himſelf than any of his miniſters.[h]

RALEIGH'S CONSPIRACY.

Amidst the great tranquillity, both foreign and domeſtic, with which the nation was bleſt, nothing could be more ſurpriſing than the diſcovery of a conſpiracy to ſubvert the government, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king's by the family of Lenox, and deſcended equally from Henry VII. Every thing remains ſtill myſterious in this conſpiracy; and hiſtory can give us no clue to unravel it. Watſon

and Clarke, two catholic prieſts, were accuſed of the plot; lord Grey, a puritan; lord Cobham, a thoughtleſs man, of no fixed principle; and ſir Walter Raleigh, ſuſpected to be of that philoſophical ſect, who were then extremely rare in England, and who have ſince received the appellation of Free-thinkers; together with theſe, Mr. Broke, brother to lord Cobham, ſir Griffin Markham, Mr. Copeley, ſir Edward Parham. What cement could unite men of ſuch diſcordant principles in ſo dangerous a combination; what end they propoſed, or what means proportioned to an undertaking of this nature, has never yet been explained, and cannot eaſily be imagined. As Raleigh, Grey, and Cobham, were commonly believed, after the queen's death, to have oppoſed proclaiming the king till conditions ſhould be made with him, they were upon that account extremely obnoxious to the court and miniſtry; and people were apt at firſt to ſuſpect that the plot was merely a contrivance of ſecretary Cecil, to get rid of his old confederates, now become his moſt inveterate enemies. But the confeſſion, as well as trial of the criminals, put the matter beyond doubt.[l] And, though no one could find any marks of a concerted enterpriſe, it appeared that men of furious and ambitious ſpirits, meeting frequently together, and believing all the world diſcontented like themſelves, had entertained very criminal projects, and had even entered, ſome of them at leaſt, into a correſpondence with Aremberg, the Flemiſh ambaſſador, in order to give diſturbance to the new ſettlement.

The two prieſts [k] and Broke [l] were executed: Cobham, Grey, and Markham, were pardoned [m] after they had laid their heads upon the block.[n] Raleigh too was reprieved, not pardoned; and he remained in confinement many years afterwards.

It appears, from Sully's Memoirs, that Raleigh ſecretly offered his ſervices to the French ambaſſador; and we may thence preſume that, meeting with a repulſe from that quarter, he had

recourſe, for the ſame unwarrantable purpoſes, to the Flemiſh miniſter. Such a conjecture we are now enabled to form; but it muſt be confeſſed that, on his trial, there appeared no proof of this tranſaction, nor indeed any circumſtance which could juſtify his condemnation. He was accuſed by Cobham alone, in a ſudden fit of paſſion, upon hearing that Raleigh, when examined, had pointed out ſome circumſtances by which Cobham's guilt might be known and aſcertained. This accuſation Cobham afterwards retracted; and ſoon after he retracted his retractation. Yet, upon the written evidence of this ſingle witneſs, a man of no honour or underſtanding, and ſo contradictory in his teſtimony; not confronted with Raleigh; not ſupported by any concurring circumſtance; was that great man, contrary to all law and equity, found guilty by the jury. His name was at that time extremely odious in England; and every man was pleaſed to give ſentence againſt the capital enemy of Eſſex, the favourite of the people.

Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, then attorney-general, managed the cauſe for the crown, and threw out on Raleigh ſuch groſs abuſe as may be deemed a great reflection, not only on his own memory, but even, in ſome degree, on the manners of the age. Traitor, monſter, viper, and ſpider of hell, are the terms which he employs againſt one of the moſt illuſtrious men of the kingdom, who was under trial for life and fortune, and who defended himſelf with temper, eloquence, and courage.°

The next occupation of the king was entirely according to his heart's content. He was employed in dictating magiſterially to an aſſembly of divines concerning points of faith and diſcipline, and in receiving the applauſes of theſe holy men for his ſuperior zeal and learning. The religious diſputes between the church and the puritans had induced him to call a conference

at Hampton-court, on pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile both parties.

Though the ſeverities of Elizabeth towards the catholics had much weakened that party, whoſe genius was oppoſite to the prevailing ſpirit of the nation; like ſeverities had had ſo little influence on the puritans, who were encouraged by that ſpirit, that no leſs than ſeven hundred and fifty clergymen of that party ſigned a petition to the king on his acceſſion; and many more ſeemed willing to adhere to it.[p] They all hoped that James, having received his education in Scotland, and having ſometimes profeſſed an attachment to the church eſtabliſhed there, would at leaſt abate the rigour of the laws enacted in ſupport of the ceremonies, and againſt puritans, if he did not ſhew more particular grace and encouragement to that ſect. But the king's diſpoſition had taken ſtrongly a contrary bias. The more he knew the puritanical clergy, the leſs favour he bore to them. He had remarked, in their Scottiſh brethren, a violent turn towards republicaniſm and a zealous attachment to civil liberty; principles nearly allied to that religious enthuſiaſm with which they were actuated. He had found that, being moſtly perſons of low birth and mean education, the ſame lofty pretenſions, which attended them in their familiar addreſſes to their Maker, of whom they believed themſelves the peculiar favourites, induced them to uſe the utmoſt freedoms with their earthly ſovereign. In both capacities, of monarch and of theologian, he had experienced the little complaiſance which they were diſpoſed to ſhew him; whilſt they controlled his commands, diſputed his tenets, and to his face, before the whole people, cenſured his conduct and behaviour. If he had ſubmitted to the indignity of courting their favour, he treaſured up, on that account, the ſtronger reſentment againſt them, and was determined to make them feel, in their turn, the weight of his authority.

Though he had often met with reſiſtance and faction and obſtinacy in the Scottiſh nobility, he retained no ill-will to that order; or rather ſhewed them favour and kindneſs in England beyond what reaſon and ſound policy could well juſtify; but the aſcendant which the preſbyterian clergy had aſſumed over him was what his monarchical pride could never thoroughly digeſt.[q]

He dreaded likewiſe the popularity which attended this order of men in both kingdoms. As uſeleſs auſterities and ſelf-denial are imagined, in many religions, to render us acceptable to a benevolent Being who created us ſolely for happineſs, James remarked that the ruſtic ſeverity of theſe clergymen, and of their whole ſect, had given them, in the eyes of the multitude, the appearance of ſanctity and virtue. Strongly inclined himſelf to mirth and wine and ſports of all kinds, he apprehended their cenſure for his manner of life, free and diſengaged. And, being thus averſe, from temper as well as policy, to the ſect of puritans, he was reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent its farther growth in England.

CONFERENCE AT HAMPTON-COURT. 1604.

But it was the character of James's councils, throughout his whole reign, that they were more wiſe and equitable in their end than prudent and political in the means. Though juſtly ſenſible that no part of civil adminiſtration required greater care or a nicer judgment than the conduct of religious parties, he had not perceived that, in the ſame proportion as this practical knowledge of theology is requiſite, the ſpeculative refinements in it are mean and even dangerous in a monarch. By entering zealouſly into frivolous diſputes, James gave them an air of importance and dignity which they could not otherwiſe have ac-

quired; and, being himſelf enliſted in the quarrel, he could no longer have recourſe to contempt and ridicule, the only proper method of appeaſing it. The church of England had not yet abandoned the rigid doctrines of grace and predeſtination: the puritans had not yet ſeparated themſelves from the church, nor openly renounced epiſcopacy. Though the ſpirit of the parties was conſiderably different, the only appearing ſubjects of diſpute were concerning the croſs in baptiſm, the ring in marriage, the uſe of the ſurplice, and the bowing at the name of Jeſus. Theſe were the mighty queſtions which were ſolemnly agitated in the conference at Hampton-court between ſome biſhops and dignified clergymen on the one hand, and ſome leaders of the puritanical party on the other, the king and his miniſters being preſent.[r]

The puritans were here ſo unreaſonable as to complain of a partial and unfair management of the diſpute; as if the ſearch after truth were in any degree the object of ſuch conferences, and a candid indifference, ſo rare even among private inquirers in philoſophical queſtions, could ever be expected among princes and prelates in a theological controverſy. The king, it muſt be confeſſed, from the beginning of the conference, ſhewed the ſtrongeſt propenſity to the eſtabliſhed church, and frequently inculcated a maxim, which, though it has ſome foundation, is to be received with great limitations. NO BISHOP, NO KING. The biſhops, in their turn, were very liberal of their praiſes towards the royal diſputant; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſaid that undoubtedly his majeſty ſpake by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God's Spirit.[s] A few alterations in the liturgy were agreed to, and both parties ſeparated with mutual diſſatisfaction.

It had frequently been the practice of the puritans to form certain aſſemblies, which they called prophefyings; where alternately, as moved by the Spirit, they diſplayed their zeal in prayers

and exhortations, and raiſed their own enthuſiaſm, as well as that of their audience, to the higheſt pitch, from that ſocial contagion which has ſo mighty an influence on holy fervours, and from the mutual emulation which aroſe in thoſe trials of religious eloquence. Such dangerous ſocieties had been ſuppreſſed by Elizabeth; and the miniſters in this conference moved the king for their revival. But James ſharply replied, 'If you aim at a Scottiſh preſbytery, it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil. There Jack and Tom and Will and Dick ſhall meet and cenſure me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former ſpeech: Le Roi s'aviſera. Stay, I pray, for one ſeven years before you demand; and then, if you find me grow purſie and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you. For that government will keep me in breath,' and give me work enough.' Such were the political conſiderations which determined the king in his choice among religious parties.

A PARLIAMENT.

THE next aſſembly, in which James diſplayed his learning and eloquence, was one that ſhewed more ſpirit of liberty than appeared among his biſhops and theologians. The parliament was now ready to aſſemble; being ſo long delayed on account of the plague, which had broken out in London, and raged to ſuch a degree that above thirty thouſand perſons are computed to have died of it in a year, though the city contained at that time little more than one hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants.

The ſpeech which the king made on opening the parliament fully diſplays his character, and proves him to have poſſeſſed more knowledge and better parts than prudence, or any juſt ſenſe of decorum and propriety.[u] Though few productions of the age ſurpaſs this performance either in ſtyle or matter, it

wants that majeſtic brevity and reſerve which becomes a king in his addreſſes to the great council of the nation. It contains, however, a remarkable ſtroke of candour, where he confeſſes his too great facility in yielding to the ſolicitations of ſuitors:[x] a fault which he promiſes to correct, but which adhered to him, and diſtreſſed him, during the whole courſe of his reign.

The firſt buſineſs, in which the commons were engaged, was of the utmoſt importance to the preſervation of their privileges; and neither temper nor reſolution were wanting in their conduct of it.

In former periods of the Engliſh government the houſe of commons was of ſo ſmall weight in the balance of the conſtitution, that little attention had been given, either by the crown, the people, or the houſe itſelf, to the choice and continuance of the members. It had been uſual, after parliaments were prolonged beyond one ſeſſion, for the chancellor to exert a diſcretionary authority of iſſuing new writs to ſupply the place of any members whom he judged incapable of attending, either on account of their employment, their ſickneſs, or other impediment. This practice gave that miniſter, and conſequently the prince, an unlimited power of modelling at pleaſure the repreſentatives of the nation; yet ſo little jealouſy had it created, that the commons, of themſelves, without any court influence or intrigue, and contrary to ſome former votes of their own, confirmed it in the twenty-third of Elizabeth.[y] At that time, though ſome members, whoſe places had been ſupplied on account of ſickneſs, having now recovered their health, appeared in the houſe, and claimed their ſeat; ſuch was the authority of the chancellor, that, merely out of reſpect to him, his ſentence was adhered to, and the new members were continued in their places. Here a moſt dangerous prerogative was conferred on the crown. But to ſhew the genius of that age, or rather the channels in which

power then ran, the crown put very little value on this authority; inſomuch that two days afterwards the chancellor, of himſelf, reſigned it back to the commons, and gave them power to judge of a particular vacancy in their houſe. And, when the queſtion concerning the chancellor's new writs was again brought on the carpet towards the end of the ſeſſion, the commons were ſo little alarmed at the precedent, that, though they readmitted ſome old members, whoſe ſeats had been vacated on account of ſlight indiſpoſitions, yet they confirmed the chancellor's ſentence in inſtances where the diſtemper appeared to have been dangerous and incurable.[z] Nor did they proceed any farther in vindication of their privileges than to vote that, during the ſitting of parliament, there do not, at any time, any writ go out for chooſing or returning any member without the warrant of the houſe. In Elizabeth's reign we may remark, and the reigns preceding, ſeſſions of parliament were not uſually the twelfth part ſo long as the vacations; and, during the latter, the chancellor's power, if he pleaſed to exert it, was confirmed, at leaſt left, by this vote, as unlimited and unreſtrained as ever.

In a ſubſequent parliament the abſolute authority of the queen was exerted in a manner ſtill more open; and began for the firſt to give alarm to the commons. New writs having been iſſued by the chancellor when there was no vacancy, and a controverſy ariſing upon that incident, the queen ſent a meſſage to the houſe, informing them that it were impertinent for them to deal in ſuch matters. Theſe queſtions, ſhe ſaid, belonged only to the chancellor; and ſhe had appointed him to confer with the judges, in order to ſettle all diſputes with regard to elections. The commons had the courage, a few days after, to vote 'that it was a moſt perilous precedent, where two knights of a county were duly elected, if any new writ ſhould iſſue out for a ſecond election without order of the houſe itſelf; that the diſcuſſing and

adjudging of this and ſuch like differences belonged only to the houſe; and that there ſhould be no meſſage ſent to the lord chancellor, not ſo much as to inquire what he had done in the matter, becauſe it was conceived to be a matter derogatory to the power and privilege [a] of the houſe.' This is the moſt conſiderable, and almoſt only, inſtance of parliamentary liberty, which occurs during the reign of that princeſs.

Outlaws, whether on account of debts or crimes, had been declared by the judges [b] incapable of enjoying a ſeat in the houſe, where they muſt themſelves be lawgivers; but this opinion of the judges had been frequently overruled. I find, however, in the caſe of Vaughan,[c] who was queſtioned for an outlawry, that, having proved all his debts to have been contracted by ſuretiſhip, and to have been, moſt of them, honeſtly compounded, he was allowed, on account of theſe favourable circumſtances, to keep his ſeat: which plainly ſuppoſes that, otherwiſe, it would have been vacated on account of the outlawry.[d]

When James ſummoned this parliament he iſſued a proclamation,[e] in which (among many general advices, which, like a kind tutor, he beſtowed on his people) he ſtrictly enjoins them not to chooſe any outlaw for their repreſentative. And he adds; 'If any perſon take upon him the place of knight, citizen, or burgeſs, not being duly elected, according to the laws and ſtatutes in that behalf provided, and according to the purport, effect, and true meaning, of this our proclamation, then every perſon ſo offending to be fined or impriſoned for the ſame.' A proclamation here was plainly put on the ſame footing with a law, and that in ſo delicate a point as the right of elections: moſt alarming circumſtances, had there not been reaſon to believe that this meaſure, being entered into ſo early in the king's reign, proceeded more from precipitation and miſtake than from any ſerious deſign of invading the privileges of parliament.[f]

Sir Francis Goodwin was choſen member for the county of Bucks; and his return, as uſual, was made into chancery. The chancellor, pronouncing him an outlaw, vacated his ſeat, and iſſued writs for a new election.[g] Sir John Forteſcue was choſen in his place by the county. But the firſt act of the houſe was to reverſe the chancellor's ſentence, and reſtore ſir Francis to his ſeat. At the king's ſuggeſtion the lords deſired a conference on the ſubject; but were abſolutely refuſed by the commons, as the queſtion entirely regarded their own privileges.[h] The commons, however, agreed to make a remonſtrance to the king by the mouth of their ſpeaker; in which they maintained that, though the returns were by form made into chancery, yet the ſole right of judging with regard to elections belonged to the houſe itſelf, not to the chancellor.[i] James was not ſatisfied, and ordered a conference between the houſe and the judges, whoſe opinion in this caſe was oppoſite to that of the commons. This conference, he ſaid, he commanded as an abſolute king;[k] an epithet, we are apt to imagine, not very grateful to Engliſh ears, but one to which they had already been ſomewhat accuſtomed from the mouth of Elizabeth.[l] He added, that all their privileges were derived from his grant, and hoped they would not turn them againſt him:[m] a ſentiment which, from her conduct, it is certain that princeſs had alſo entertained, and which was the reigning principle of her courtiers and miniſters, and the ſpring of all her adminiſtration.

The commons were in ſome perplexity. Their eyes were now opened, and they ſaw the conſequences of that power which had been aſſumed by the chancellor, and to which their predeceſſors had, in ſome inſtances, blindly ſubmitted. 'By this courſe,' ſaid a member, 'the free election of the counties is taken away, and none ſhall be choſen but ſuch as ſhall pleaſe the king and council. Let us, therefore, with fortitude, underſtanding, and

ſincerity, ſeek to maintain our privilege. This cannot be conſtrued any contempt in us, but merely a maintenance of our common rights, which our anceſtors have left us, and which it is juſt and fit for us to tranſmit to our [n] poſterity.' Another [o] ſaid, 'This may be called a quo warranto to ſeize all our liberties.' 'A chancellor,' added a third, 'by this courſe may call a parliament conſiſting of what perſons he pleaſes. Any ſuggeſtion, by any perſon, may be the cauſe of ſending a new writ. It is come to this plain queſtion, Whether the chancery or parliament ought to have [p] authority?'

Notwithſtanding this watchful ſpirit of liberty, which now appeared in the commons, their deference for majeſty was ſo great, that they appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the king and council. There the queſtion of law began to appear, in James's eyes, a little more doubtful than he had hitherto imagined it; and, in order to extricate himſelf with ſome honour, he propoſed that both Goodwin and Forteſcue ſhould be ſet aſide, and a writ be iſſued, by warrant of the houſe, for a new election. Goodwin gave his conſent, and the commons embraced the expedient; but in ſuch a manner that, while they ſhewed their regard for the king, they ſecured for the future the free poſſeſſion of their ſeats, and the right which they claimed of judging ſolely in their own elections and returns.[q]

A power like this, ſo eſſential to the exerciſe of all their other powers, themſelves ſo eſſential to public liberty, cannot fairly be deemed an encroachment in the commons; but muſt be regarded as an inherent privilege, happily reſcued from that ambiguity which the negligence of ſome former parliaments had thrown upon it.

At the ſame time the commons, in the caſe of ſir Thomas Shirley, eſtabliſhed their power of puniſhing, as well the perſons

at whoſe ſuit any member is arreſted, as the officers who either arreſt or detain him. Their aſſerting of this privilege admits of the ſame reflection.[r]

About this period the minds of men throughout Europe, eſpecially in England, ſeem to have undergone a general but inſenſible revolution. Though letters had been revived in the preceding age, they were chiefly cultivated by thoſe of ſedentary profeſſions; nor had they till now begun to ſpread themſelves, in any degree, among men of the world. Arts, both mechanical and liberal, were every day receiving great improvements. Navigation had extended itſelf over the whole globe. Travelling was ſecure and agreeable. And the general ſyſtem of politics in Europe was become more enlarged and comprehenſive.

In conſequence of this univerſal fermentation the ideas of men enlarged themſelves on all ſides; and the ſeveral conſtituent parts of the Gothic governments, which ſeem to have lain long unactive, began every where to operate and encroach on each other. On the continent, where the neceſſity of diſcipline had begotten ſtanding armies, the princes commonly eſtabliſhed an unlimited authority, and overpowered, by force or intrigue, the liberties of the people. In England the love of freedom, which, unleſs checked, flouriſhes extremely in all liberal natures, acquired new force, and was regulated by more enlarged views, ſuitably to that cultivated underſtanding, which became every day more common among men of birth and education. A familiar acquaintance with the precious remains of antiquity excited, in every generous breaſt, a paſſion for a limited conſtitution, and begat an emulation of thoſe manly virtues which the Greek and Roman authors, by ſuch animating examples, as well as pathetic expreſſions, recommend to us. The ſevere though popular government of Elizabeth had confined this riſing ſpirit within very narrow bounds: but, when a new and a foreign fa-

mily ſucceeded to the throne, and a prince leſs dreaded and leſs beloved, ſymptoms immediately appeared of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

Happily this prince poſſeſſed neither ſufficient capacity to perceive the alteration, nor ſufficient art and vigour to check it in its early advances. Jealous of regal, becauſe conſcious of little perſonal authority, he had eſtabliſhed within his own mind a ſpeculative ſyſtem of abſolute government, which few of his ſubjects, he believed, and none but traitors and rebels, would make any ſcruple to admit. On whichever ſide he caſt his eye, every thing concurred to encourage his prejudices. When he compared himſelf with the other hereditary ſovereigns of Europe, he imagined that, as he bore the ſame rank, he was entitled to equal prerogatives; not conſidering the innovations lately introduced by them, and the military force by which their authority was ſupported. In England that power, almoſt unlimited, which had been exerciſed for above a century, eſpecially during the late reign, he aſcribed ſolely to royal birth and title; not to the prudence and ſpirit of the monarchs, nor to the conjunctures of the times. Even the oppoſition which he had ſtruggled with in Scotland encouraged him ſtill farther in his favourite notions; while he there ſaw that the ſame reſiſtance, which oppoſed regal authority, violated all law and order, and made way either for the ravages of a barbarous nobility, or for the more intolerable inſolence of ſeditious preachers. In his own perſon, therefore, he thought all legal power to be centered by an hereditary and a divine right: and this opinion might have proved dangerous, if not fatal, to liberty, had not the firmneſs of the perſuaſion, and its ſeeming evidence, induced him to truſt ſolely to his right, without making the ſmalleſt proviſion, either of force or politics, in order to ſupport it.

Such were the oppoſite diſpoſitions of parliament and prince at the commencement of the Scottiſh line; diſpoſitions juſt beginning to exiſt and to appear in the parliament,[s] but thoroughly eſtabliſhed and openly avowed on the part of the prince.

The ſpirit and judgment of the houſe of commons appeared, not only in defence of their own privileges, but alſo in their endeavour, though, at this time, in vain, to free trade from thoſe ſhackles which the high exerted prerogative, and even, in this reſpect, the ill-judged tyranny of Elizabeth, had impoſed upon it.

James had already, of his own accord, called in and annulled all the numerous patents for monopolies which had been granted by his predeceſſor, and which extremely fettered every ſpecies of domeſtic induſtry: but the excluſive companies ſtill remained; another ſpecies of monopoly, by which almoſt all foreign trade, except that to France, was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engroſſers, and all proſpect of future improvement in commerce was for ever ſacrificed to a little temporary advantage of the ſovereign. Theſe companies, though arbitrarily elected, had carried their privileges ſo far, that almoſt all the commerce of England was centered in London; and it appears that the cuſtoms of that port amounted to one hundred and ten thouſand pounds a year, while thoſe of all the kingdom beſide yielded only ſeventeen thouſand.[t] Nay, the whole trade of London was confined to about two hundred citizens,[u] who were eaſily enabled, by combining among themſelves, to fix whatever price they pleaſed both to the exports and imports of the nation. The committee appointed to examine this enormous grievance, one of the greateſt which we read of in Engliſh ſtory, inſiſt on it as a fact well known and avowed, however contrary to preſent received opinion, that ſhipping and ſeamen had ſenſibly decayed during all the preceding reign.[w] And, though nothing be more common than complaints of the decay of trade even during the

moſt flouriſhing periods, yet is this a conſequence which might naturally reſult from ſuch arbitrary eſtabliſhments, at a time when the commerce of all the other nations of Europe, except that of Scotland, enjoyed full liberty and indulgence.

While the commons were thus attempting to give liberty to the trading part of the nation, they alſo endeavoured to free the landed property from the burden of wardſhips,[x] and to remove thoſe remains of the feudal tenures under which the nation ſtill laboured. A juſt regard was ſhewn to the crown in the conduct of this affair; nor was the remedy ſought for conſidered as a matter of right, but merely of grace and favour. The profit which the king reaped, both from wards and from reſpite of homage, was eſtimated; and it was intended to compound for theſe prerogatives by a ſecure and independent revenue. But, after ſome debates in the houſe, and ſome conferences with the lords, the affair was found to contain more difficulties than could eaſily, at that time, be ſurmounted; and it was not then brought to any concluſion.

The ſame fate attended an attempt of a like nature to free the nation from the burden of purveyance. This prerogative had been much abuſed by the purveyors;[y] and the commons ſhewed ſome intention to offer the king fifty thouſand pounds a year for the abolition of it.

Another affair of the utmoſt conſequence was brought before the parliament, where the commons ſhewed a greater ſpirit of independence than any true judgment of national intereſt. The union of the two kingdoms was zealouſly, and even impatiently, urged by the king.[z] He juſtly regarded it as the peculiar felicity of his reign that he had terminated the bloody animoſities of theſe hoſtile nations, and had reduced the whole iſland under one government; enjoying tranquillity within itſelf, and ſecurity from all foreign invaſions. He hoped that, while his ſubjects of

both kingdoms reflected on paſt diſaſters, beſides regarding his perſon as infinitely precious, they would entertain the ſtrongeſt deſire of ſecuring themſelves againſt the return of like calamities, by a thorough union of laws, parliaments, and privileges. He conſidered not that this very reflection operated, as yet, in a contrary manner on men's prejudices, and kept alive that mutual hatred between the nations which had been carried to the greateſt extremities, and required time to allay it. The more urgent the king appeared in promoting ſo uſeful a meaſure, the more backward was the Engliſh parliament in concurring with him; while they aſcribed his exceſſive zeal to that partiality in favour of his ancient ſubjects, of which they thought that, on other occaſions, they had reaſon to complain. Their complaiſance for the king, therefore, carried them no farther than to appoint forty-four Engliſh to meet with thirty-one Scottiſh commiſſioners, in order to deliberate concerning the terms of a union; but without any power of making advances towards the eſtabliſhment of it.[a]

The ſame ſpirit of independence, and perhaps not better judgment, appeared in the houſe of commons, when the queſtion of ſupply was brought before them by ſome members attached to the court. In vain was it urged that, though the king received a ſupply which had been voted to Elizabeth, and which had not been collected before her death, yet he found it burdened with a debt contracted by the queen, equal to the full amount of it; that peace was not yet thoroughly concluded with Spain, and that Ireland was ſtill expenſive to him; that on his journey from Scotland, amidſt ſuch a concourſe of people, and on that of the queen and royal family, he had expended conſiderable ſums; and that, as the courtiers had looked for greater liberalities from the prince on his acceſſion, and had impoſed on his generous nature, ſo the prince, in his turn, would expect, at

the beginning, ſome mark of duty and attachment from his people, and ſome conſideration of his neceſſities. No impreſſion was made on the houſe of commons by theſe topics; and the majority appeared fully determined to refuſe all ſupply. The burden of government at that time lay ſurpriſingly light upon the people: and that very reaſon, which to us, at this diſtance, may ſeem a motive of generoſity, was the real cauſe why the parliament was, on all occaſions, ſo remarkably frugal and reſerved. They were not, as yet, accuſtomed to open their purſes in ſo liberal a manner as their ſucceſſors, in order to ſupply the wants of their ſovereign; and the ſmalleſt demand, however requiſite, appeared in their eyes unreaſonable and exorbitant. The commons ſeem alſo to have been deſirous of reducing the crown to ſtill farther neceſſities, by their refuſing a bill, ſent down to them by the lords, for entailing the crown lands for ever on the king's heirs and ſucceſſors.[b] The diſſipation, made by Elizabeth, had probably taught James the neceſſity of this law, and ſhewn them the advantage of refuſing it.

In order to cover a diſappointment with regard to ſupply, which might bear a bad conſtruction both at home and abroad, James ſent a meſſage to the houſe,[c] in which he told them that he deſired no ſupply; and he was very forward in refuſing what was never offered him. Soon after he prorogued the parliament, not without diſcovering in his ſpeech viſible marks of diſſatisfaction. Even ſo early in his reign he ſaw reaſon to make public complaints of the reſtleſs and encroaching ſpirit of the puritanical party, and of the malevolence with which they endeavoured to inſpire the commons. Nor were his complaints without foundation, or the puritans without intereſt; ſince the commons, now finding themſelves free from the arbitrary government of Elizabeth, made application for a conference with the lords, and preſented a petition to the king; the purport of both which was,

to procure, in favour of the puritans, a relaxation of the eccleſiaſtical laws.[d] The uſe of the ſurplice, and of the croſs in baptiſm, is there chiefly complained of; but the remedy ſeems to have been expected ſolely from the king's diſpenſing power.[e] In the papers which contain this application and petition we may alſo ſee proofs of the violent animoſity of the commons againſt the catholics, together with the intolerating ſpirit of that aſſembly.[f]

PEACE WITH SPAIN.

This ſummer the peace with Spain was finally concluded, and was ſigned by the Spaniſh miniſters at London on the eighteenth of Auguſt.[g] In the conferences previous to this treaty the nations were found to have ſo few claims on each other, that, except on account of the ſupport given by England to the Low Country provinces, the war might appear to have been continued more on account of perſonal animoſity between Philip and Elizabeth, than any contrariety of political intereſts between their ſubjects. Some articles in the treaty, which ſeemed prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth, were never executed by the king; and, as the Spaniards made no complaints on that head, it appeared that, by ſecret agreement, the king had expreſsly reſerved the power of ſending aſſiſtance to the Hollanders.[h] The conſtable of Caſtile came into England to ratify the peace; and, on the part of England, the earl of Hertford was ſent into the Low Countries for the ſame purpoſe; and the earl of Nottingham, high admiral, into Spain. The train of the latter was numerous and ſplendid; and the Spaniards, it is ſaid, were extremely ſurpriſed when they beheld the blooming countenances and graceful appearance of the Engliſh, whom their bigotry, inflamed by the prieſts, had repreſented as ſo many monſters and infernal demons.

Though England, by means of her naval force, was perfectly ſecure during the latter years of the Spaniſh war, James ſhewed an impatience to put an end to hoſtilities; and ſoon after his acceſſion, before any terms of peace were concerted, or even propoſed, by Spain, he recalled all the letters of marque[i] which had been granted by queen Elizabeth. Archduke Albert had made ſome advances of a like nature,[k] which invited the king to take this friendly ſtep. But what is remarkable; in James's proclamation for that purpoſe, he plainly ſuppoſes that, as he had himſelf, while king of Scotland, always lived in amity with Spain, peace was attached to his perſon, and that merely by his acceſſion to the crown of England, without any articles of treaty or agreement,[l] he had ended the war between the kingdoms. This ignorance of the law of nations may appear ſurpriſing in a prince who was thirty-ſix years of age, and who had reigned from his infancy, did we not conſider that a king of Scotland, who lives in cloſe friendſhip with England, has few tranſactions to manage with foreign princes, and has little opportunity of acquiring experience. Unhappily for James, his timidity, his prejudices, his indolence, his love of amuſement, particularly of hunting, to which he was much addicted, ever prevented him from making any progreſs in the knowledge or practice of foreign politics, and in a little time diminiſhed that regard which all the neighbouring nations had paid to England during the reign of his predeceſſor.[m]

CHAPTER XLVI.

JAMES I.

GUNPOWDER CONSPIRACY....A PARLIAMENT....TRUCE BETWIXT SPAIN AND THE UNITED PROVINCES....A PARLIAMENT....DEATH OF THE FRENCH KING....ARMINIANISM....STATE OF IRELAND.

WE are now to relate an event, one of the moſt memorable that hiſtory has conveyed to poſterity, and containing at once a ſingular proof both of the ſtrength and weakneſs of the human mind; its wideſt departure from morals, and moſt ſteady attachment to religious prejudices. It is the Gunpowder treaſon of which I ſpeak; a fact as certain as it appears incredible.

GUNPOWDER CONSPIRACY. 1604.

THE Roman catholics had expected great favour and indulgence on the acceſſion of James; both as he was deſcended from Mary, whoſe life they believed to have been ſacrificed to their cauſe, and as he himſelf, in his early youth, was imagined to have ſhewn ſome partiality towards them; which nothing, they thought, but intereſt and neceſſity had ſince reſtrained. It is pretended that he had even entered into poſitive engagements to tolerate their religion as ſoon as he ſhould mount the throne

of England; whether their credulity had interpreted in this ſenſe ſome obliging expreſſions of the king's, or that he had employed ſuch an artifice,[n] in order to render them favourable to his title. Very ſoon they diſcovered their miſtake; and were at once ſurpriſed and enraged to find James, on all occaſions, expreſs his intention of ſtrictly executing the laws enacted againſt them, and of perſevering in all the rigorous meaſures of Elizabeth. Cateſby, a gentleman of good parts and of an ancient family, firſt thought of a moſt extraordinary method of revenge; and he opened his intention to Piercy, a deſcendant of the illuſtrious houſe of Northumberland. In one of their converſations with regard to the diſtreſſed condition of the catholics, Piercy having broken into a ſally of paſſion, and mentioned aſſaſſinating the king, Cateſby took the opportunity of revealing to him a nobler and more extenſive plan of treaſon; which not only included a ſure execution of vengeance, but afforded ſome hopes of reſtoring the catholic religion in England. 'In vain,' ſaid he, 'would you put an end to the king's life: he has children, who would ſucceed both to his crown and to his maxims of government. In vain would you extinguiſh the whole royal family: the nobility, the gentry, the parliament, are all infected with the ſame hereſy; and could raiſe to the throne another prince and another family, who, beſides their hatred to our religion, would be animated with revenge for the tragical death of their predeceſſors. To ſerve any good purpoſe, we muſt deſtroy, at one blow, the king, the royal family, the lords, the commons; and bury all our enemies in one common ruin. Happily they are all aſſembled on the firſt meeting of the parliament, and afford us the opportunity of glorious and uſeful vengeance. Great preparations will not be requiſite. A few of us, combining, may run a mine below the hall in which they meet; and, chooſing the very moment when the king harangues both houſes, conſign

over to deſtruction theſe determined foes to all piety and religion. Meanwhile we ourſelves, ſtanding aloof, ſafe and unſuſpected, ſhall triumph in being the inſtruments of divine wrath, and ſhall behold with pleaſure thoſe ſacrilegious walls, in which were paſſed the edicts for proſcribing our church and butchering her children, toſſed into a thouſand fragments; while their impious inhabitants, meditating perhaps ſtill new perſecutions againſt us, paſs from flames above to flames below,[o] there for ever to endure the torments due to their offences.'

Piercy was charmed with this project of Cateſby; and they agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and among the reſt to Thomas Winter, whom they ſent over to Flanders in queſt of Fawkes, an officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, with whoſe zeal and courage they were all thoroughly acquainted. When they inliſted any new conſpirator, in order to bind him to ſecreſy, they always, together with an oath, employed the communion, the moſt ſacred rite of their religion.[p] And it is remarkable that no one of theſe pious devotees ever entertained the leaſt compunction with regard to the cruel maſſacre, which they projected, of whatever was great and eminent in the nation. Some of them only were ſtartled by the reflection that of neceſſity many catholics muſt be preſent, as ſpectators or attendants on the king, or as having ſeats in the houſe of peers: but Teſmond, a jeſuit, and Garnet, ſuperior of that order in England, removed theſe ſcruples, and ſhewed them how the intereſts of religion required that the innocent ſhould here be ſacrificed with the guilty.

All this paſſed in the ſpring and ſummer of the year 1604; when the conſpirators alſo hired a houſe in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to aſſemble. Towards the end of that year they began their operations. That they might be leſs interrupted, and give leſs ſuſpicion to the

neighbourhood, they carried in ſtore of proviſions with them, and never deſiſted from their labour. Obſtinate in their purpoſe, and confirmed by paſſion, by principle, and by mutual exhortation, they little feared death in compariſon of a diſappointment; and, having provided arms, together with the inſtruments of their labour, they reſolved there to periſh in caſe of a diſcovery. Their perſeverance advanced the work; and they ſoon pierced the wall, though three yards in thickneſs; but, on approaching the other ſide, they were ſomewhat ſtartled at hearing a noiſe, which they knew not how to account for. Upon inquiry, they found that it came from the vault below the houſe of lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that, as the coals were ſelling off, the vault would be let to the higheſt bidder. The opportunity was immediately ſeized; the place hired by Piercy; thirty-ſix barrels of powder lodged in it; the whole covered up with faggots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly flung open; and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Confident of ſucceſs, they now began to look forward, and to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, prince Henry, were all expected to be preſent at the opening of parliament. The duke, by reaſon of his tender age, would be abſent; and it was reſolved that Piercy ſhould ſeize him, or aſſaſſinate him. The princeſs Elizabeth, a child likewiſe, was kept at lord Harrington's houſe at Warwickſhire; and ſir Everard Digby, Rookwood, Grant, being let into the conſpiracy, engaged to aſſemble their friends on pretence of a hunting match, and, ſeizing that princeſs, immediately to proclaim her queen. So tranſported were they with rage againſt their adverſaries, and ſo charmed with the proſpect of revenge, that they forgot all care of their own ſafety; and, truſting to the general confuſion which muſt reſult from ſo unexpected a blow, they foreſaw not

that the fury of the people, now unreſtrained by any authority, muſt have turned againſt them, and would probably have ſatiated itſelf by an univerſal maſſacre of the catholics.

The day, ſo long wiſhed for, now approached, on which the parliament was appointed to aſſemble. The dreadful ſecret, though communicated to above twenty perſons, had been religiouſly kept during the ſpace of near a year and a half. No remorſe, no pity, no fear of puniſhment, no hope of reward, had as yet induced any one conſpirator either to abandon the enterpriſe, or make a diſcovery of it. The holy fury had extinguiſhed in their breaſt every other motive; and it was an indiſcretion at laſt, proceeding chiefly from theſe very bigoted prejudices and partialities, which ſaved the nation.

Ten days before the meeting of parliament lord Monteagle, a catholic, ſon to lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his ſervant by an unknown hand. 'My Lord, Out of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have a care of your preſervation. Therefore I would adviſe you, as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this parliament: for God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time. And think not ſlightly of this advertiſement; but retire yourſelf into your country, where you may expect the event in ſafety. For, though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet, I ſay, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of it,[q] unto whoſe holy protection I commend you.'

Monteagle knew not what to make of this letter; and, though inclined to think it a fooliſh attempt to frighten and ridicule

him, he judged it ſafeſt to carry it to lord Saliſbury, ſecretary of ſtate. Though Saliſbury too was inclined to pay little attention to it, he thought proper to lay it before the king, who came to town a few days after. To the king it appeared not ſo light a matter; and, from the ſerious earneſt ſtyle of the letter, he conjectured that it implied ſomething dangerous and important. A terrible blow, and yet the authors concealed; a danger ſo ſudden, and yet ſo great: theſe circumſtances ſeemed all to denote ſome contrivance by gunpowder; and it was thought adviſable to inſpect all the vaults below the houſes of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain; who purpoſely delayed the ſearch till the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked thoſe great piles of wood and faggots which lay in the vault under the upper houſe; and he caſt his eye upon Fawkes, who ſtood in a dark corner, and paſſed himſelf for Piercy's ſervant. That daring and determined courage, which ſo much diſtinguiſhed this conſpirator even among thoſe heroes in villany, was fully painted in his countenance, and was not paſſed unnoticed by the chamberlain.[r] Such a quantity alſo of fuel, for the uſe of one who lived ſo little in town as Piercy, appeared a little extraordinary;[s] and, upon comparing all circumſtances, it was reſolved that a more thorough inſpection ſhould be made. About midnight ſir Thomas Knevet, a juſtice of peace, was ſent with proper attendants; and, before the door of the vault finding Fawkes, who had juſt finiſhed all his preparations, he immediately ſeized him, and, turning over the faggots, diſcovered the powder. The matches, and every thing proper for ſetting fire to the train, were taken in Fawkes's pocket; who, finding his guilt now apparent, and ſeeing no refuge but in boldneſs and deſpair, expreſſed the utmoſt regret that he had loſt the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of ſweetening his own death by that of his enemies.[t] Before the council

he diſplayed the ſame intrepid firmneſs, mixed even with ſcorn and diſdain; refuſing to diſcover his accomplices, and ſhewing no concern but for the failure of the enterpriſe.[u] This obſtinacy laſted two or three days: but, being confined to the tower, left to reflect on his guilt and danger, and the rack being juſt ſhewn to him, his courage, fatigued with ſo long an effort, and unſupported by hope or ſociety, at laſt failed him; and he made a full diſcovery of all the conſpirators.[x]

Cateſby, Piercy, and the other criminals, who were in London, though they had heard of the alarm taken at a letter ſent to Monteagle; though they had heard of the chamberlain's ſearch; yet were reſolved to perſiſt to the utmoſt, and never abandon their hopes of ſucceſs.[y] But at laſt, hearing that Fawkes was arreſted, they hurried down to Warwickſhire; where ſir Everard Digby, thinking himſelf aſſured that ſucceſs had attended his confederates, was already in arms, in order to ſeize the princeſs Elizabeth. She had eſcaped into Coventry; and they were obliged to put themſelves on their defence againſt the country, who were raiſed from all quarters, and armed, by the ſheriff. The conſpirators, with all their attendants, never exceeded the number of eighty perſons; and, being ſurrounded on every ſide, could no longer entertain hopes either of prevailing or eſcaping. Having therefore confeſſed themſelves, and received abſolution, they boldly prepared for death, and reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible to the aſſailants. But even this miſerable conſolation was denied them. Some of their powder took fire, and diſabled them for defence.[z] The people ruſhed in upon them. Piercy and Cateſby were killed by one ſhot. Digby, Rookwood, Winter, and others, being taken priſoners, were tried, confeſſed their guilt, and died, as well as Garnet, by the hands of the executioner. Notwithſtanding this horrid crime, the bigoted catholics were ſo devoted to Garnet, that they fancied

miracles to be wrought by his blood;[a] and in Spain he was regarded as a martyr.[b]

Neither had the deſperate fortune of the conſpirators urged them to this enterpriſe, nor had the former profligacy of their lives prepared them for ſo great a crime. Before that audacious attempt their conduct ſeems, in general, to be liable to no reproach. Cateſby's character had entitled him to ſuch regard, that Rookwood and Digby were ſeduced by their implicit truſt in his judgment; and they declared that, from the motive alone of friendſhip to him, they were ready, on any occaſion, to have ſacrificed their lives.[c] Digby himſelf was as highly eſteemed and beloved as any man in England; and he had been particularly honoured with the good opinion of queen Elizabeth.[d] It was bigoted zeal alone, the moſt abſurd of prejudices maſqued with reaſon, the moſt criminal of paſſions covered with the appearance of duty, which ſeduced them into meaſures that were fatal to themſelves, and had ſo nearly proved fatal to their country.[e]

The lords Mordaunt and Stourton, two catholics, were fined, the former ten thouſand pounds, the latter four thouſand, by the ſtar chamber; becauſe their abſence from parliament had begotten a ſuſpicion of their being acquainted with the conſpiracy. The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thouſand pounds, and detained ſeveral years priſoner in the tower; becauſe, not to mention other grounds of ſuſpicion, he had admitted Piercy into the number of gentlemen penſioners, without his taking the requiſite oaths.[f]

The king, in his ſpeech to the parliament, obſerved that, though religion had engaged the conſpirators in ſo criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to involve all the Roman catholics in the ſame guilt, or ſuppoſe them equally diſpoſed to commit ſuch enormous barbarities. Many holy men, he ſaid, and our an-

ceſtors among the reſt, had been ſeduced to concur with that church in her ſcholaſtic doctrines; who yet had never admitted her ſeditious principles concerning the pope's power of dethroning kings, or ſanctifying aſſaſſination. The wrath of Heaven is denounced againſt crimes, but innocent error may obtain its favour; and nothing can be more hateful than the uncharitableneſs of the puritans, who condemn alike to eternal torments even the moſt inoffenſive partiſans of popery. For his part, he added, that conſpiracy, however atrocious, ſhould never alter in the leaſt his plan of government: while with one hand he puniſhed guilt, with the other he would ſtill ſupport and protect innocence.[g] After this ſpeech he prorogued the parliament till the twenty-ſecond of January.[h]

The moderation, and I may ſay magnanimity, of the king, immediately after ſo narrow an eſcape from a moſt deteſtable conſpiracy, was nowiſe agreeable to his ſubjects. Their animoſity againſt popery, even before this provocation, had riſen to a great pitch; and it had perhaps been more prudent in James, by a little diſſimulation, to have conformed himſelf to it. His theological learning, confirmed by diſputation, had happily fixed his judgment in the proteſtant faith; yet was his heart a little biaſſed by the allurements of Rome, and he had been well pleaſed if the making of ſome advances could have effected an union with that ancient mother church. He ſtrove to abate the acrimony of his own ſubjects againſt the religion of their fathers: he became himſelf the object of their diffidence and averſion. Whatever meaſures he embraced; in Scotland to introduce prelacy, in England to enforce the authority of the eſtabliſhed church, and ſupport its rites and ceremonies; were interpreted as ſo many ſteps towards popery; and were repreſented by the puritans as ſymptoms of idolatry and ſuperſtition. Ignorant of the conſequences, or unwilling to ſacrifice to politics his inclina-

tion, which he called his conſcience, he perſevered in the ſame meaſures, and gave truſt and preferment, almoſt indifferently, to his catholic and proteſtant ſubjects. And, finding his perſon, as well as his title, leſs obnoxious to the church of Rome than thoſe of Elizabeth, he gradually abated the rigour of thoſe laws which had been enacted againſt that church, and which were ſo acceptable to his bigoted ſubjects. But the effects of theſe diſpoſitions on both ſides became not very ſenſible till towards the concluſion of his reign.

A PARLIAMENT. 1606.

At this time James ſeems to have poſſeſſed the affections even of his Engliſh ſubjects, and, in a tolerable degree, their eſteem and regard. Hitherto their complaints were chiefly levelled againſt his too great conſtancy in his early friendſhips; a quality which, had it been attended with more economy, the wiſe would have excuſed, and the candid would even, perhaps, have applauded. His parts, which were not deſpicable, and his learning, which was great, being highly extolled by his courtiers and gownmen, and not yet tried in the management of any delicate affairs, for which he was unfit, raiſed a high idea of him in the world; nor was it always through flattery or inſincerity that he received the title of the ſecond Solomon. A report, which was ſuddenly ſpread about this time, of his being aſſaſſinated, viſibly ſtruck a great conſternation into all orders of men.[i] The commons alſo abated, this ſeſſion, ſomewhat of their exceſſive frugality, and granted him an aid, payable in four years, of three ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths, which, ſir Francis Bacon ſaid in the houſe,[k] might amount to about four hundred thouſand pounds: and for once the king and parliament parted in friendſhip and good humour. The hatred, which the catholics ſo viſibly bore

him, gave him at this time an additional value in the eyes of his people. The only conſiderable point, in which the commons incurred his diſpleaſure, was by diſcovering their conſtant good-will to the puritans, in whoſe favour they deſired a conference with the lords;[l] which was rejected.

The chief affair tranſacted next ſeſſion was the intended union of the two kingdoms.[m] Nothing could exceed the king's paſſion and zeal for this noble enterpriſe, but the parliament's prejudice and reluctance againſt it. There remain two excellent ſpeeches in favour of the union, which it would not be improper to compare together; that of the king,[n] and that of ſir Francis Bacon. Thoſe, who affect in every thing ſuch an extreme contempt for James, will be ſurpriſed to find that his diſcourſe, both for good reaſoning and eloquent compoſition, approaches very near that of a man who was undoubtedly, at that time, one of the greateſt geniuſes in Europe. A few trivial indiſcretions and indecorums may be ſaid to characterize the harangue of the monarch, and mark it for his own. And, in general, ſo open and avowed a declaration in favour of a meaſure, while he had taken no care, by any precaution or intrigue, to enſure ſucceſs, may ſafely be pronounced an indiſcretion. But the art of managing parliaments by private intereſt or cabal, being found hitherto of little uſe or neceſſity, had not as yet become a part of Engliſh politics. In the common courſe of affairs government could be conducted without their aſſiſtance; and, when their concurrence became neceſſary to the meaſures of the crown, it was, generally ſpeaking, except in times of great faction and diſcontent, obtained without much difficulty.

The king's influence ſeems to have rendered the Scottiſh parliament cordial in all the ſteps which they took towards the union. Though the advantages which Scotland might hope from that meaſure were more conſiderable; yet were the objections

too, with regard to that kingdom, more ſtriking and obvious. The benefit which muſt have reſulted to England, both by acceſſion of ſtrength and ſecurity, was not deſpicable; and, as the Engliſh were by far the greater nation, and poſſeſſed the ſeat of government, the objections, either from the point of honour or from jealouſy, could not reaſonably have any place among them. The Engliſh parliament indeed ſeem to have been ſwayed merely by the vulgar motive of national antipathy. And they perſiſted ſo obſtinately in their prejudices, that all the efforts for a thorough union and incorporation ended only in the abolition of the hoſtile laws formerly enacted between the kingdoms.°

Some precipitate ſteps, which the king, a little after his acceſſion, had taken, in order to promote his favourite project, had been here obſerved to do more injury than ſervice. From his own authority he had aſſumed the title of king of Great Britain; and had quartered the arms of Scotland with thoſe of England in all coins, flags, and enſigns. He had alſo engaged the judges to make a declaration that all thoſe who, after the union of the crowns, ſhould be born in either kingdom, were, for that reaſon alone, naturalized in both. This was a nice queſtion, and, according to the ideas of thoſe times, ſuſceptible of ſubtile reaſoning on both ſides. The king was the ſame; the parliaments were different. To render the people therefore the ſame, we muſt ſuppoſe that the ſovereign authority reſided chiefly in the prince, and that theſe popular aſſemblies were rather inſtituted to aſſiſt with money and advice, than endowed with any controlling or active powers in the government. 'It is evident,' ſays Bacon in his pleadings on this ſubject, 'that all other commonwealths, monarchies only excepted, do ſubſiſt by a law precedent. For where authority is divided amongſt many officers, and they not perpetual, but annual or temporary, and not to receive their authority but by election, and certain perſons too have voices

only in that election, and the like; theſe are buſy and curious frames, which of neceſſity do preſuppoſe a law precedent, written or unwritten, to guide and direct them: but in monarchies, eſpecially hereditary, that is, when ſeveral families or lineages of people do ſubmit themſelves to one line, imperial or royal; the ſubmiſſion is more natural and ſimple; which afterwards, by law ſubſequent, is perfected, and made more formal:[p] but that is grounded upon nature.' It would ſeem, from this reaſoning, that the idea of an hereditary, limited monarchy, though implicitly ſuppoſed in many public tranſactions, had ſcarcely ever as yet been expreſsly formed by any Engliſh lawyer or politician.

Except the obſtinacy of the parliament with regard to the union, and an attempt on the king's eccleſiaſtical[q] juriſdiction, moſt of their meaſures, during this ſeſſion, were ſufficiently reſpectful and obliging; though they ſtill diſcover a vigilant ſpirit, and a careful attention towards national liberty. The votes alſo of the commons ſhew that the houſe contained a mixture of puritans, who had acquired great authority among them,[r] and who, together with religious prejudices, were continually ſuggeſting ideas more ſuitable to a popular than a monarchical form of government. The natural appetite for rule made the commons lend a willing ear to every doctrine which tended to augment their own power and influence.

A petition was moved in the lower houſe for a more rigorous execution of the laws againſt popiſh recuſants, and an abatement towards proteſtant clergymen, who ſcrupled to obſerve the ceremonies. Both theſe points were equally unacceptable to the king; and he ſent orders to the houſe to proceed no farther in that matter. The commons were inclined at firſt to conſider theſe orders as a breach of privilege: but they ſoon acquieſced, when told that this meaſure of the king's was ſupported by many

precedents during the reign of Elizabeth.[s] Had they been always diſpoſed to make the precedents of that reign the rule of their conduct, they needed never have had any quarrel with any of their monarchs.

The complaints of Spaniſh depredations were very loud among the Engliſh merchants.[t] The lower houſe ſent a meſſage to the lords, deſiring a conference with them, in order to their preſenting a joint petition to the king on the ſubject. The lords took ſome time to deliberate on this meſſage; becauſe they ſaid the matter was weighty and rare. It probably occurred to them at firſt that the parliament's interpoſing in affairs of ſtate would appear unuſual and extraordinary. And, to ſhew that in this ſentiment they were not guided by court influence, after they had deliberated they agreed to the conference.

The houſe of commons began now to feel themſelves of ſuch importance, that, on the motion of ſir Edwin Sandys, a member of great authority, they entered, for the firſt time, an order for the regular keeping of their journals.[u] When all buſineſs was finiſhed the king prorogued the parliament.

About this time there was an inſurrection of the country people in Northamptonſhire, headed by one Reynolds, a man of low condition. They went about deſtroying enclоſures, but carefully avoided committing any other outrage. This inſurrection was eaſily ſuppreſſed; and, though great lenity was uſed towards the rioters, yet were ſome of the ringleaders puniſhed. The chief cauſe of that trivial commotion ſeems to have been, of itſelf, far from trivial. The practice ſtill continued in England of diſuſing tillage, and throwing the land into enclоſures for the ſake of paſture. By this means the kingdom was depopulated, at leaſt prevented from increaſing ſo much in people as might have been expected from the daily increaſe of induſtry and commerce.

TRUCE BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED PROVINCES. 1609.

NEXT year preſents us with nothing memorable: but, in the ſpring of the ſubſequent, after a long negociation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that war which for near half a century had been carried on with ſuch fury between Spain and the ſtates of the United Provinces. Never conteſt ſeemed at firſt more unequal; never conteſt was finiſhed with more honour to the weaker party. On the ſide of Spain were numbers, riches, authority, diſcipline; on the ſide of the revolted provinces were found the attachment to liberty and the enthuſiaſm of religion. By her naval enterpriſes the republic maintained her armies; and, joining peaceful induſtry to military valour, ſhe was enabled, by her own force, to ſupport herſelf, and gradually rely leſs on thoſe neighbouring princes who, from jealouſy to Spain, were at firſt prompted to encourage her revolt. Long had the pride of that monarchy prevailed over her intereſt, and prevented her from hearkening to any terms of accommodation with her rebellious ſubjects. But, finding all intercourſe cut off between her provinces by the maritime force of the States, ſhe at laſt agreed to treat with them as a free people, and ſolemnly to renounce all claim and pretenſion to their ſovereignty.

This chief point being gained, the treaty was eaſily brought to a concluſion under the joint mediation and guarantee of France and England. All exterior appearances of honour were paid equally to both crowns: but very different were the ſentiments which the States, as well as all Europe, entertained of the princes who wore them. Frugality and vigour, the chief circumſtances which procure regard among foreign nations, ſhone out as conſpicuouſly in Henry as they were deficient in James. To a contempt of the Engliſh monarch Henry ſeems to have

added a conſiderable degree of jealouſy and averſion, which were ſentiments altogether without foundation. James was juſt and fair in all tranſactions with his allies:[x] but it appears, from the memoirs of thoſe times, that each ſide deemed him partial towards their adverſary, and fancied that he had entered into ſecret meaſures againſt them.[y] So little equity have men in their judgments of their own affairs; and ſo dangerous is that entire neutrality affected by the king of England!

A PARLIAMENT. 1610.

THE little concern which James took in foreign affairs renders the domeſtic occurrences, particularly thoſe of parliament, the moſt intereſting of his reign. A new ſeſſion was held this ſpring; the king full of hopes of receiving ſupply; the commons of circumſcribing his prerogative. The earl of Saliſbury, now created treaſurer on the death of the earl of Dorſet, laid open the king's neceſſities, firſt to the peers, then to a committee of the lower houſe.[z] He inſiſted on the unavoidable expenſe incurred in ſupporting the navy, and in ſuppreſſing a late inſurrection in Ireland: he mentioned three numerous courts which the king was obliged to maintain, for himſelf, for the queen, and for the prince of Wales: he obſerved that queen Elizabeth, though a ſingle woman, had received very large ſupplies in the years preceding her death, which alone were expenſive to her: and he remarked that, during her reign, ſhe had alienated many of the crown lands; an expedient which, though it ſupplied her preſent neceſſities without laying burdens on her people, extremely multiplied the neceſſities of her ſucceſſor. From all theſe cauſes he thought it nowiſe ſtrange that the king's income ſhould fall ſhort ſo great a ſum as eighty-one thouſand pounds of his ſtated and regular expenſe; without mentioning contingencies, which ought

always to be eſteemed a fourth of the yearly charges. And, as the crown was now neceſſarily burdened with a great and urgent debt of three hundred thouſand pounds, he thence inferred the abſolute neceſſity of an immediate and large ſupply from the people. To all theſe reaſons, which James likewiſe urged in a ſpeech addreſſed to both houſes, the commons remained inexorable. But, not to ſhock the king with an abſolute refuſal, they granted him one ſubſidy and one fifteenth, which would ſcarcely amount to a hundred thouſand pounds. And James received the mortification of diſcovering in vain all his wants, and of begging aid of ſubjects who had no reaſonable indulgence or conſideration for him.

Among the many cauſes of diſguſt and quarrel, which now daily and unavoidably multiplied between prince and parliament, this article of money is to be regarded as none of the leaſt conſiderable. After the diſcovery and conqueſt of the Weſt Indies, gold and ſilver became every day more plentiful in England, as well as in the reſt of Europe; and the price of all commodities and proviſions roſe to a height beyond what had been known ſince the declenſion of the Roman empire. As the revenue of the crown roſe not in proportion,[a] the prince was inſenſibly reduced to poverty amidſt the general riches of his ſubjects, and required additional funds, in order to ſupport the ſame magnificence and force which had been maintained by former monarchs. But, while money thus flowed into England, we may obſerve that, at the ſame time, and probably from that very cauſe, arts and induſtry of all kinds received a mighty increaſe; and elegance in every enjoyment of life became better known, and more cultivated, among all ranks of people. The king's ſervants, both civil and military, his courtiers, his miniſters, demanded more ample ſupplies from the impoveriſhed prince, and were not contented with the ſame ſimplicity of living which had ſatisfied their

anceſtors. The prince himſelf began to regard an increaſe of pomp and ſplendour as requiſite to ſupport the dignity of his character, and to preſerve the ſame ſuperiority above his ſubjects which his predeceſſors had enjoyed. Some equality too, and proportion to the other ſovereigns of Europe, it was natural for him to deſire; and, as they had univerſally enlarged their revenue, and multiplied their taxes, the king of England deemed it reaſonable that his ſubjects, who were generally as rich as theirs, ſhould bear with patience ſome additional burdens and impoſitions.

Unhappily for the king, thoſe very riches, with the increaſing knowledge of the age, bred oppoſite ſentiments in his ſubjects; and, begetting a ſpirit of freedom and independence, diſpoſed them to pay little regard either to the entreaties or menaces of their ſovereign. While the barons poſſeſſed their former immenſe property and extenſive juriſdictions, they were apt, at every diſguſt, to endanger the monarch, and throw the whole government into confuſion: but this confuſion often, in its turn, proved favourable to the monarch, and made the nation again ſubmit to him, in order to re-eſtabliſh juſtice and tranquillity. After the power of alienations, as well as the increaſe of commerce, had thrown the balance of property into the hands of the commons, the ſituation of affairs, and the diſpoſitions of men, became ſuſceptible of a more regular plan of liberty; and the laws were not ſupported ſingly by the authority of the ſovereign. And, though in that interval, after the decline of the peers, and before the people had yet experienced their force, the princes aſſumed an exorbitant power, and had almoſt annihilated the conſtitution under the weight of their prerogative; as ſoon as the commons recovered from their lethargy they ſeem to have been aſtoniſhed at the danger, and were reſolved to ſecure liberty by firmer barriers than their anceſtors had hitherto provided for it.

Had James poſſeſſed a very rigid frugality, he might have warded off this criſis ſomewhat longer; and, waiting patiently for a favourable opportunity to increaſe and fix his revenue, might have ſecured the extenſive authority tranſmitted to him. On the other hand, had the commons been inclined to act with more generoſity and kindneſs towards their prince, they might probably have turned his neceſſities to good account, and have bribed him to depart peaceably from the more dangerous articles of his prerogative. But he was a foreigner, and ignorant of the arts of popularity; they were ſoured by religious prejudices, and tenacious of their money: and, in this ſituation, it is no wonder that, during this whole reign, we ſcarcely find an interval of mutual confidence and friendſhip between prince and parliament.

The king, by his prerogative alone, had ſome years before altered the rates of the cuſtoms, and had eſtabliſhed higher impoſitions on ſeveral kinds of merchandiſe. This exerciſe of power will naturally to us appear arbitrary and illegal; yet, according to the principles and practices of that time, it might admit of ſome apology. The duties of tonnage and poundage were at firſt granted to the crown by a vote of parliament, and for a limited time; and, as the grant frequently expired and was renewed, there could not then ariſe any doubt concerning the origin of the king's right to levy theſe duties; and this impoſition, like all others, was plainly derived from the voluntary conſent of the people. But, as Henry V and all the ſucceeding ſovereigns had the revenue conferred on them for life, the prince, ſo long in poſſeſſion of theſe duties, began gradually to conſider them as his own proper right and inheritance, and regarded the vote of parliament as a mere formality, which rather expreſſed the acquieſcence of the people in his prerogative than beſtowed any new gift or revenue upon him.

The parliament, when it firſt granted poundage to the crown, had fixed no particular rates: the impoſition was given as a ſhilling a pound, or five per cent. on all commodities: it was left to the king himſelf and the privy council, aided by the advice of ſuch merchants as they ſhould think proper to conſult, to fix the value of goods, and thereby the rates of the cuſtoms; and, as that value had been ſettled before the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies, it was become much inferior to the prices which almoſt all commodities bore in every market in Europe; and conſequently the cuſtoms on many goods, though ſuppoſed to be five per cent. was in reality much inferior. The king, therefore, was naturally led to think that rates, which were now plainly falſe, ought to be corrected;[b] that a valuation of commodities, fixed by one act of the privy council, might be amended by another; that, if his right to poundage were inherent in the crown, he ſhould alſo poſſeſs, of himſelf, the right of correcting its inequalities; if this duty were granted by the people, he ſhould at leaſt ſupport the ſpirit of the law, by fixing a new and a juſter valuation of all commodities. But, beſides this reaſoning, which ſeems plauſible if not ſolid, the king was ſupported in that act of power by direct precedents, ſome in the reign of Mary, ſome in the beginning of Elizabeth.[c] Both theſe princeſſes had, without conſent of parliament, altered the rates of commodities: and, as their impoſitions had all along been ſubmitted to without a murmur, and ſtill continued to be levied, the king had no reaſon to apprehend that a farther exertion of the ſame authority would give any occaſion of complaint. That leſs umbrage might be taken, he was moderate in the new rates which he eſtabliſhed: the cuſtoms, during his whole reign, roſe only from one hundred and twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds a year to one hundred and ninety thouſand; though, beſides the increaſe of the rates, there was a ſenſible increaſe of commerce

and induſtry during that period: every commodity, beſides, which might ſerve to the ſubſiſtence of the people, or might be conſidered as a material of manufactures, was exempted from the new impoſitions of James.[d] But all this caution could not prevent the complaints of the commons. A ſpirit of liberty had now taken poſſeſſion of the houſe: the leading members, men of an independent genius and large views, began to regulate their opinions more by the future conſequences which they foreſaw, than by the former precedents which were ſet before them; and they leſs aſpired at maintaining the ancient conſtitution than at eſtabliſhing a new one, and a freer and a better. In their remonſtrances to the king on this occaſion, they obſerved it to be a general opinion, that the reaſons of that practice might be extended much farther, even to the utter ruin of the ancient liberty of the kingdom, and the ſubjects' right of property in their lands and goods.[e] Though expreſsly forbidden by the king to touch his prerogative, they paſſed a bill aboliſhing theſe impoſitions, which was rejected by the houſe of lords.

In another addreſs to the king they objected to the practice of borrowing upon privy ſeals, and deſired that the ſubjects ſhould not be forced to lend money to his majeſty, nor give a reaſon for their refuſal. Some murmurs likewiſe were thrown out in the houſe againſt a new monopoly[f] of the licenſe of wines. It muſt be confeſſed that forced loans and monopolies were eſtabliſhed on many, and ancient as well as recent, precedents, though diametrically oppoſite to all the principles of a free government.[g]

The houſe likewiſe diſcovered ſome diſcontent againſt the king's proclamations. James told them that, though he well knew, by the conſtitution and policy of the kingdom, that proclamations were not of equal force with laws, yet he thought it a duty incumbent on him, and a power inſeparably annexed to

the crown, to reſtrain and prevent ſuch miſchiefs and inconveniences as he ſaw growing on the ſtate, againſt which no certain law was extant, and which might tend to the great detriment of the ſubject, if there ſhould be no remedy provided till the meeting of a parliament. 'And this prerogative,' he adds, 'our progenitors have, in all times,[h] uſed and enjoyed.' The intervals between ſeſſions, we may obſerve, were frequently ſo long as to render it neceſſary for a prince to interpoſe by his prerogative. The legality of this exertion was eſtabliſhed by uniform and undiſputed practice; and was even acknowledged by lawyers, who made, however, this difference between laws and proclamations, that the authority of the former was perpetual, that of the latter expired with the ſovereign who emitted them.[i] But what the authority could be which bound the ſubject, yet was different from the authority of laws, and inferior to it, ſeems inexplicable by any maxims of reaſon or politics. And in this inſtance, as in many others, it is eaſy to ſee how inaccurate the Engliſh conſtitution was before the parliament was enabled, by continued acquiſitions or encroachments, to eſtabliſh it on fixed principles of liberty.

Upon the ſettlement of the reformation, that extenſive branch of power which regards eccleſiaſtical matters being then without an owner, ſeemed to belong to the firſt occupant; and Henry VIII failed not immediately to ſeize it, and to exert it even to the utmoſt degree of tyranny. The poſſeſſion of it was continued with Edward, and recovered by Elizabeth; and that ambitious princeſs was ſo remarkably jealous of this flower of her crown, that ſhe ſeverely reprimanded the parliament if they ever preſumed to intermeddle in theſe matters; and they were ſo overawed by her authority as to ſubmit, and to aſk pardon on theſe occaſions. But James's parliaments were much leſs obſequious. They ventured to lift up their eyes, and to conſider this pre-

rogative. They there ſaw a large province of government poſſeſſed by the king alone, and ſcarcely ever communicated with the parliament. They were ſenſible that this province admitted not of any exact boundary or circumſcription. They had felt that the Roman pontiff, in former ages, under pretence of religion, was gradually making advances to uſurp the whole civil power. They dreaded ſtill more dangerous conſequences from the claims of their own ſovereign, who reſided among them, and who, in many other reſpects, poſſeſſed ſuch unlimited authority. They therefore deemed it abſolutely neceſſary to circumſcribe this branch of prerogative; and accordingly, in the preceding ſeſſion, they paſſed a bill againſt the eſtabliſhment of any eccleſiaſtical canons without conſent of parliament.[k] But the houſe of lords, as is uſual, defended the barriers of the throne, and rejected the bill.

In this ſeſſion the commons, after paſſing anew the ſame bill, made remonſtrances againſt the proceedings of the high commiſſion court.[l] It required no great penetration to ſee the extreme danger to liberty, ariſing in a regal government, from ſuch large diſcretionary powers as were exerciſed by that court. But James refuſed compliance with the application of the commons. He was probably ſenſible that, beſides the diminution of his authority, many inconveniences muſt neceſſarily reſult from the aboliſhing of all diſcretionary power in every magiſtrate; and that the laws, were they ever ſo carefully framed and digeſted, could not poſſibly provide againſt every contingency; much leſs where they had not as yet attained a ſufficient degree of accuracy and refinement.

But the buſineſs which chiefly occupied the commons during this ſeſſion was the abolition of wardſhips and purveyance; prerogatives which had been more or leſs touched on every ſeſſion during the whole reign of James. In this affair the commons

employed the proper means which might entitle them to ſucceſs: they offered the king a ſettled revenue as an equivalent for the powers which he ſhould part with; and the king was willing to hearken to terms. After much diſpute he agreed to give up theſe prerogatives for two hundred thouſand pounds a year, which they agreed to confer upon him.[m] And nothing remained, towards cloſing the bargain, but that the commons ſhould determine the funds by which this ſum ſhould be levied. This ſeſſion was too far advanced to bring ſo difficult a matter to a full concluſion; and, though the parliament met again towards the end of the year, and reſumed the queſtion, they were never able to terminate an affair upon which they ſeemed ſo intent. The journals of that ſeſſion are loſt; and, as the hiſtorians of this reign are very negligent in relating parliamentary affairs, of whoſe importance they were not ſufficiently appriſed, we know not exactly the reaſon of this failure. It only appears that the king was extremely diſſatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, and ſoon after diſſolved it. This was his firſt parliament, and it ſat near ſeven years.

Amidſt all theſe attacks, ſome more, ſome leſs violent, on royal prerogative, the king diſplayed, as openly as ever, all his exalted notions of monarchy and the authority of princes. Even in a ſpeech to the parliament, where he begged for ſupply, and where he ſhould naturally have uſed every art to ingratiate himſelf with that aſſembly, he expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms: 'I conclude, then, the point touching the power of kings with this axiom of divinity, that, as to diſpute what God may do is blaſphemy, but what God wills, that divines may lawfully and do ordinarily diſpute and diſcuſs; ſo it is ſedition in ſubjects to diſpute what a king may do in the height of his power. But juſt kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curſe of God. I will not be content that my

power be diſputed upon; but I ſhall ever be willing to make the reaſon appear of my doings,[n] and rule my actions according to my laws.' Notwithſtanding the great extent of prerogative in that age, theſe expreſſions would probably give ſome offence. But we may obſerve, that, as the king's deſpotiſm was more ſpeculative than practical, ſo the independency of the commons was, at this time, the reverſe; and though ſtrongly ſupported by their preſent ſituation, as well as diſpoſition, was too new and recent to be as yet founded on ſyſtematical principles and opinions.[o]

DEATH OF THE FRENCH KING.

THIS year was diſtinguiſhed by a memorable event, which gave great alarm and concern in England; the murder of the French monarch by the poinard of the fanatical Ravaillac. With his death the glory of the French monarchy ſuffered an eclipſe for ſome years; and, as that kingdom fell under an adminiſtration weak and bigoted, factious and diſorderly, the Auſtrian greatneſs began anew to appear formidable to Europe. In England the antipathy to the catholics revived a little upon this tragical event; and ſome of the laws, which had formerly been enacted, in order to keep theſe religioniſts in awe, began now to be executed with greater rigour and ſeverity.[p]

ARMINIANISM. 1611.

THOUGH James's timidity and indolence fixed him, during moſt of his reign, in a very prudent inattention to foreign affairs, there happened this year an event in Europe of ſuch mighty conſequence as to rouſe him from his lethargy, and ſummon up all his zeal and enterpriſe. A profeſſor of divinity, named Vorſtius, the diſciple of Arminius, was called from a German to

a Dutch univerſity; and, as he differed from his Britannic majeſty in ſome nice queſtions concerning the intimate eſſence and ſecret decrees of God, he was conſidered as a dangerous rival in ſcholaſtic fame, and was at laſt obliged to yield to the legions of that royal doctor, whoſe ſyllogiſms he might have refuted or eluded. If vigour was wanting in other incidents of James's reign, here he behaved even with haughtineſs and inſolence; and the States were obliged, after ſeveral remonſtrances, to deprive Vorſtius of his chair, and to baniſh him their dominions.[q] The king carried no farther his animoſity againſt that profeſſor; though he had very charitably hinted to the States that, as to the burning of Vorſtius for his blaſphemies and atheiſm, he left them to their own Chriſtian wiſdom; but ſurely never heretic better deſerved the flames.[r] It is to be remarked that at this period, all over Europe, except in Holland alone, the practice of burning heretics ſtill prevailed, even in proteſtant countries; and inſtances were not wanting in England during the reign of James.

To conſider James in a more advantageous light, we muſt take a view of him as the legiſlator of Ireland; and, moſt of the inſtitutions which he had framed for civilizing that kingdom being finiſhed about this period, it may not here be improper to give ſome account of them. He frequently boaſts of the management of Ireland as his maſter-piece; and it will appear, upon inquiry, that his vanity in this particular was not altogether without foundation.

STATE OF IRELAND. 1612.

After the ſubjection of Ireland by Elizabeth the more difficult taſk ſtill remained; to civilize the inhabitants, to reconcile them to laws and induſtry, and to render their ſubjection durable and uſeful to the crown of England. James proceeded in this work

by a ſteady, regular, and well-concerted plan; and in the ſpace of nine years, according to ſir John Davis, he made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom than had been made in the four hundred and forty years which had elapſed ſince the conqueſt was firſt attempted.[s]

It was previouſly neceſſary to aboliſh the Iriſh cuſtoms, which ſupplied the place of laws, and which were calculated to keep that people for ever in a ſtate of barbariſm and diſorder.

By the Brehon law or cuſtom every crime, however enormous, was puniſhed, not with death, but by a fine or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Murder itſelf, as among all the ancient barbarous nations, was atoned for in this manner; and each man, according to his rank, had a different rate or value affixed to him, which if any one were willing to pay he needed not fear aſſaſſinating his enemy. This rate was called his eric. When ſir William Fitzwilliams, being lord deputy, told Maguire that he was to ſend a ſheriff into Fermannah, which a little before had been made a county, and ſubjected to the Engliſh law; 'Your ſheriff,' ſaid Maguire, 'ſhall be welcome to me: but let me know beforehand his eric, or the price of his head, that, if my people cut it off,[t] I may levy the money upon the county.' As for oppreſſion, extortion, and other treſpaſſes, ſo little were they regarded, that no penalty was affixed to them, and no redreſs for ſuch offences could ever be obtained.

The cuſtoms of Gavelkinde and Taniſtry were attended with the ſame abſurdity in the diſtribution of property. The land, by the cuſtom of gavelkinde, was divided among all the males of the ſept or family, both baſtard and legitimate: and, after partition made, if any of the ſept died, his portion was not ſhared out among his ſons; but the chieftain, at his diſcretion, made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that ſept, and gave every one his ſhare.[u] As no man, by reaſon of this cuſtom, enjoyed the

fixed property of any land; to build, to plant, to encloſe, to cultivate, to improve, would have been ſo much loſt labour.

The chieftains and the taniſts, though drawn from the principal families, were not hereditary, but were eſtabliſhed by election, or, more properly ſpeaking, by force and violence. Their authority was almoſt abſolute; and, notwithſtanding that certain lands were aſſigned to the office, its chief profit reſulted from exactions, dues, aſſeſſments, for which there was no fixed law, and which were levied at pleaſure.[x] Hence aroſe that common by-word among the Iriſh, 'That they dwelt weſtward of the law, which dwelt beyond the river of the Barrow:' meaning the country where the Engliſh inhabited, and which extended not beyond the compaſs of twenty miles, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin.[y]

After aboliſhing theſe Iriſh cuſtoms, and ſubſtituting Engliſh law in their place, James, having taken all the natives under his protection, and declared them free citizens, proceeded to govern them by a regular adminiſtration, military as well as civil.

A ſmall army was maintained, its diſcipline inſpected, and its pay tranſmitted from England, in order to keep the ſoldiers from preying upon the country, as had been uſual in former reigns. When Odoghartie raiſed an inſurrection a reinforcement was ſent over, and the flames of that rebellion were immediately extinguiſhed.

All minds being firſt quieted by a general indemnity,[z] circuits were eſtabliſhed, juſtice adminiſtered, oppreſſion baniſhed, and crimes and diſorders of every kind ſeverely puniſhed.[a] As the Iriſh had been univerſally engaged in the rebellion againſt Elizabeth, a reſignation of all the rights, which had been formerly granted them to ſeparate juriſdictions, was rigorouſly exacted; and no authority, but that of the king and the law, was permitted throughout the kingdom.[b]

A reſignation of all private eſtates was even required; and, when they were reſtored, the proprietors received them under ſuch conditions as might prevent, for the future, all tyranny and oppreſſion over the common people. The value of the dues, which the nobles uſually claimed from their vaſſals, was eſtimated at a fixed ſum, and all farther arbitrary exactions prohibited under ſevere penalties.[c]

The whole province of Ulſter having fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was eſtabliſhed in London for planting new colonies in that fertile country; the property was divided into moderate ſhares, the largeſt not exceeding two thouſand acres; tenants were brought over from England and Scotland; the Iriſh were removed from the hills and faſtneſſes, and ſettled in the open country; huſbandry and the arts were taught them; a fixed habitation ſecured; plunder and robbery puniſhed; and by theſe means Ulſter, from being the moſt wild and diſorderly province of all Ireland, ſoon became the beſt cultivated and moſt civilized.[d]

Such were the arts by which James introduced humanity and juſtice among a people who had ever been buried in the moſt profound barbariſm. Noble cares! much ſuperior to the vain and criminal glory of conqueſts; but requiring ages of perſeverance and attention to perfect what had been ſo happily begun.

A laudable act of juſtice was about this time executed in England upon lord Sanquhir, a Scottiſh nobleman, who had been guilty of the baſe aſſaſſination of Turner, a fencing-maſter. The Engliſh nation, who were generally diſſatisfied with the Scots, were enraged at this crime, equally mean and atrocious; but James appeaſed them, by preferring the ſeverity of law to the interceſſion of the friends and family of the criminal.[e]

CHAPTER XLVII.

JAMES I.

DEATH OF PRINCE HENRY....MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH WITH THE PALATINE....RISE OF SOMERSET....HIS MARRIAGE....OVERBURY POISONED....FALL OF SOMERSET....RISE OF BUCKINGHAM....CAUTIONARY TOWNS DELIVERED....AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

DEATH OF PRINCE HENRY. 1612.

THIS year the ſudden death of Henry, prince of Wales, diffuſed an univerſal grief throughout the nation. Though youth and royal birth, both of them ſtrong allurements, prepoſſeſs men mightily in favour of the early age of princes, it is with peculiar fondneſs that hiſtorians mention Henry; and in every reſpect his merit ſeems to have been extraordinary. He had not reached his eighteenth year; and he already poſſeſſed more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more reſpect, than his father, with all his age, learning, and experience. Neither his high fortune, nor his youth, had ſeduced him into any irregular pleaſures: buſineſs and ambition ſeem to have been his ſole paſſion. His inclinations, as well as exerciſes, were martial. The French ambaſſador taking leave of him, and aſking his commands for France, found him employed in the exerciſe of the pike;

'Tell your king,' ſaid he, 'in what occupation [a] you left me engaged.' He had conceived great affection and eſteem for the brave ſir Walter Raleigh. It was his ſaying, 'Sure no king but my father [b] would keep ſuch a bird in a cage.' He ſeems indeed to have nouriſhed too violent a contempt for the king on account of his pedantry and puſillanimity; and by that means ſtruck in with the reſtleſs and martial ſpirit of the Engliſh nation. Had he lived, he had probably promoted the glory, perhaps not the felicity, of his people. The unhappy prepoſſeſſion, which men commonly entertain in favour of ambition, courage, enterpriſe, and other warlike virtues, engages generous natures, who always love fame, into ſuch purſuits as deſtroy their own peace, and that of the reſt of mankind.

Violent reports were propagated, as if Henry had been carried off by poiſon; but the phyſicians, on opening his body, found no ſymptoms to confirm ſuch an opinion.[c] The bold and criminal malignity of men's tongues and pens ſpared not even the king on the occaſion. But that prince's character ſeems rather to have failed in the extreme of facility and humanity than in that of cruelty and violence. His indulgence to Henry was great, and perhaps imprudent, by giving him a large and independent ſettlement, even in ſo early youth.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH MARRIES THE PALATINE. 1613.

THE marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth with Frederic, elector palatine, was finiſhed ſome time after the death of the prince, and ſerved to diſſipate the grief which aroſe on that melancholy event. But this marriage, though celebrated with great joy and feſtivity, proved itſelf an unhappy event to the king, as well as to his ſon-in-law, and had ill conſequences on the reputation and fortunes of both. The elector, truſting to ſo great an al-

liance, engaged in enterprifes beyond his ftrength: and the king, not being able to fupport him in his diftrefs, loft entirely, in the end of his life, what remained of the affections and eſteem of his own fubjects.

RISE OF SOMERSET.

Except during feffions of parliament, the hiſtory of this reign may more properly be called the hiſtory of the court than that of the nation. An intereſting object had for ſome years engaged the attention of the court: it was a favourite, and one beloved by James with ſo profuſe and unlimited an affection as left no room for any rival or competitor. About the end of the year 1609 Robert Carre, a youth of twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, arrived in London, after having paſſed ſome time in his travels. All his natural accompliſhments conſiſted in good looks; all his acquired abilities in an eaſy air and graceful demeanour. He had letters of recommendation to his countryman lord Hay; and that nobleman no ſooner caſt his eye upon him than he diſcovered talents ſufficient to entitle him immediately to make a great figure in the government. Apprized of the king's paſſion for youth and beauty, and exterior appearance, he ſtudied how matters might be ſo managed that this new object ſhould make the ſtrongeſt impreſſion upon him. Without mentioning him at court, he aſſigned him the office, at a match at tilting, of preſenting to the king his buckler and device; and hoped that he would attract the attention of the monarch. Fortune proved favourable to his deſign by an incident which bore at firſt a contrary aſpect. When Carre was advancing to execute his office his unruly horſe flung him, and broke his leg in the king's preſence. James approached him with pity and concern; love and affection aroſe on the ſight of

his beauty and tender years; and the prince ordered him immediately to be lodged in the palace, and to be carefully attended. He himſelf, after the tilting, paid him a viſit in his chamber, and frequently returned during his confinement. The ignorance and ſimplicity of the boy finiſhed the conqueſt, begun by his exterior graces and accompliſhments. Other princes have been fond of chooſing their favourites from among the lower ranks of their ſubjects, and have repoſed themſelves on them with the more unreſerved confidence and affection, becauſe the object has been beholden to their bounty for every honour and acquiſition: James was deſirous that his favourite ſhould alſo derive from him all his ſenſe, experience, and knowledge. Highly conceited of his own wiſdom, he pleaſed himſelf with the fancy that this raw youth, by his leſſons and inſtructions, would in a little time be equal to his ſageſt miniſters, and be initiated into all the profound myſteries of government, on which he ſet ſo high a value. And, as this kind of creation was more perfectly his own work than any other, he ſeems to have indulged an unlimited fondneſs for his minion, beyond even that which he bore to his own children. He ſoon knighted him, created him viſcount Rocheſter, gave him the garter, brought him into the privy council, and, though at firſt without aſſigning him any particular office, beſtowed on him the ſupreme direction of all his buſineſs and political concerns. Agreeable to this rapid advancement in confidence and honour were the riches heaped upon the needy favourite; and, while Saliſbury and all the wiſeſt miniſters could ſcarcely find expedients ſufficient to keep in motion the overburdened machine of government, James, with unſparing hand, loaded with treaſures this inſignificant and uſeleſs pageant.[d]

It is ſaid that the king found his pupil ſo ill educated, as to be ignorant even of the loweſt rudiments of the Latin tongue;

and that the monarch, laying aſide the ſceptre, took the birch into his royal hand, and inſtructed him in the principles of grammar. During the intervals of this noble occupation affairs of ſtate would be introduced; and the ſtripling, by the aſcendant which he had acquired, was now enabled to repay in political what he had received in grammatical inſtruction. Such ſcenes and ſuch incidents are the more ridiculous, though the leſs odious, as the paſſion of James ſeems not to have contained in it any thing criminal or flagitious. Hiſtory charges herſelf willingly with a relation of the great crimes, and ſtill more with that of the great virtues, of mankind; but ſhe appears to fall from her dignity when neceſſitated to dwell on ſuch frivolous events and ignoble perſonages.

The favourite was not at firſt ſo intoxicated with advancement, as not to be ſenſible of his own ignorance and inexperience. He had recourſe to the aſſiſtance and advice of a friend; and he was more fortunate in his choice than is uſual with ſuch pampered minions. In ſir Thomas Overbury he met with a judicious and ſincere counſellor, who, building all hopes of his own preferment on that of the young favourite, endeavoured to inſtil into him the principles of prudence and diſcretion. By zealouſly ſerving every body, Carre was taught to abate the envy which might attend his ſudden elevation: by ſhewing a preference for the Engliſh, he learned to eſcape the prejudices which prevailed againſt his country. And, ſo long as he was content to be ruled by Overbury's friendly counſels, he enjoyed, what is rare, the higheſt favour of the prince without being hated by the people.

To complete the meaſure of courtly happineſs, nought was wanting but a kind miſtreſs; and, where high fortune concurred with all the graces of youth and beauty, this circumſtance could not be difficult to attain. But it was here that the favourite

met with that rock on which all his fortunes were wrecked, and which plunged him for ever into an abyſs of infamy, guilt, and miſery.

No ſooner had James mounted the throne of England than he remembered his friendſhip for the unfortunate families of Howard and Devereux, who had ſuffered for their attachment to the cauſe of Mary and to his own. Having reſtored young Eſſex to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the houſe of Norfolk, he ſought the farther pleaſure of uniting theſe families by the marriage of the earl of Eſſex with lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk. She was only thirteen, he fourteen years of age; and it was thought proper, till both ſhould attain the age of puberty, that he ſhould go abroad and paſs ſome time in his travels.[e] He returned into England after four years abſence, and was pleaſed to find his counteſs in the full luſtre of beauty, and poſſeſſed of the love and admiration of the whole court. But, when the earl approached, and claimed the privileges of a huſband, he met with nothing but ſymptoms of averſion and diſguſt, and a flat refuſal of any farther familiarities. He applied to her parents, who conſtrained her to attend him into the country, and to partake of his bed: but nothing could overcome her rigid ſullenneſs and obſtinacy; and ſhe ſtill roſe from his ſide without having ſhared the nuptial pleaſures. Diſguſted with reiterated denials, he at laſt gave over the purſuit, and, ſeparating himſelf from her, thenceforth abandoned her conduct to her own will and diſcretion.

Such coldneſs and averſion in lady Eſſex aroſe not without an attachment to another object. The favourite had opened his addreſſes, and had been too ſucceſsful in making impreſſion on the tender heart of the young counteſs.[f] She imagined that, ſo long as ſhe refuſed the embraces of Eſſex, ſhe never could be

deemed his wife, and that a ſeparation and divorce might ſtill open the way for a new marriage [g] with her beloved Rocheſter. Though their paſſion was ſo violent, and their opportunities of intercourſe ſo frequent, that they had already indulged themſelves in all the gratifications of love, they ſtill lamented their unhappy fate, while the union between them was not entire and indiſſoluble: and the lover, as well as his miſtreſs, was impatient, till their mutual ardour ſhould be crowned by marriage.

So momentous an affair could not be concluded without conſulting Overbury, with whom Rocheſter was accuſtomed to ſhare all his ſecrets. While that faithful friend had conſidered his patron's attachment to the counteſs of Eſſex merely as an affair of gallantry, he had favoured its progreſs; and it was partly owing to the ingenious and paſſionate letters which he dictated that Rocheſter had met with ſuch ſucceſs in his addreſſes. Like an experienced courtier, he thought that a conqueſt of this nature would throw a luſtre on the young favourite, and would tend ſtill farther to endear him to James, who was charmed to hear of the amours of his court, and liſtened with attention to every tale of gallantry. But great was Overbury's alarm when Rocheſter mentioned his deſign of marrying the counteſs; and he uſed every method to diſſuade his friend from ſo fooliſh an attempt. He repreſented how invidious, how difficult an enterpriſe to procure her a divorce from her huſband; how dangerous, how ſhameful, to take into his own bed a profligate woman, who, being married to a young nobleman of the firſt rank, had not ſcrupled to proſtitute her character, and to beſtow favours on the object of a capricious and momentary paſſion. And, in the zeal of friendſhip, he went ſo far as to threaten Rocheſter that he would ſeparate himſelf for ever from him, if he could ſo far forget his honour and his intereſt as to proſecute the intended marriage.[h]

Rocheſter had the weakneſs to reveal this converſation to the counteſs of Eſſex; and, when her rage and fury broke out againſt Overbury, he had alſo the weakneſs to enter into her vindictive projects, and to ſwear vengeance againſt his friend for the utmoſt inſtance which he could receive of his faithful friendſhip. Some contrivance was neceſſary for the execution of their purpoſe. Rocheſter addreſſed himſelf to the king; and, after complaining that his own indulgence to Overbury had begotten in him a degree of arrogance which was extremely diſagreeable, he procured a commiſſion for his embaſſy to Ruſſia; which he repreſented as a retreat for his friend, both profitable and honourable. When conſulted by Overbury, he earneſtly diſſuaded him from accepting this offer, and took on himſelf the office of ſatisfying the king, if he ſhould be anywiſe diſpleaſed with the refuſal.[1] To the king again he aggravated the inſolence of Overbury's conduct, and obtained a warrant for committing him to the tower, which James intended as a ſlight puniſhment for his diſobedience. The lieutenant of the tower was a creature of Rocheſter's, and had lately been put into the office for this very purpoſe: he confined Overbury ſo ſtrictly, that the unhappy priſoner was debarred the ſight even of his neareſt relations; and no communication of any kind was allowed with him during near ſix months which he lived in priſon.

SOMERSET'S MARRIAGE.

This obſtacle being removed, the lovers purſued their purpoſe; and the king himſelf, forgetting the dignity of his character and his friendſhip for the family of Eſſex, entered zealouſly into the project of procuring the counteſs a divorce from her huſband. Eſſex alſo embraced the opportunity of ſeparating himſelf from a bad woman, by whom he was hated; and he was willing to

favour their ſucceſs by any honourable expedient. The pretence for a divorce was his incapacity to fulfil the conjugal duties; and he confeſſed that, with regard to the counteſs, he was conſcious of ſuch an infirmity, though he was not ſenſible of it with regard to any other woman. In her place too, it is ſaid, a young virgin was ſubſtituted under a maſk, to undergo a legal inſpection by a jury of matrons. After ſuch a trial, ſeconded by court influence, and ſupported by the ridiculous opinion of faſcination or witchcraft, the ſentence of divorce was pronounced between the earl of Eſſex and his counteſs.[k] And, to crown the ſcene, the king, ſolicitous leſt the lady ſhould loſe any rank by her new marriage, beſtowed on his minion the title of earl of Somerſet.

OVERBURY POISONED.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſucceſs, the counteſs of Somerſet was not ſatisfied till ſhe ſhould farther ſatiate her revenge on Overbury; and ſhe engaged her huſband, as well as her uncle, the earl of Northampton, in the atrocious deſign of taking him off ſecretly by poiſon. Fruitleſs attempts were reiterated by weak poiſons; but, at laſt, they gave him one ſo ſudden and violent, that the ſymptoms were apparent to every one who approached him.[l] His interment was hurried on with the greateſt precipitation; and, though a ſtrong ſuſpicion immediately prevailed in the public, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light till ſome years after.

The fatal cataſtrophe of Overbury increaſed or begot the ſuſpicion, that the prince of Wales had been carried off by poiſon, given him by Somerſet. Men conſidered not that the contrary inference was much juſter. If Somerſet was ſo great a novice in this deteſtable art, that, during the courſe of five months, a man who was his priſoner, and attended by none but his emiſſaries,

could not be diſpatched but in ſo bungling a manner; how could it be imagined that a young prince, living in his own court, ſurrounded by his own friends and domeſtics, could be expoſed to Somerſet's attempts, and be taken off by ſo ſubtle a poiſon, if ſuch a one exiſt, as could elude the ſkill of the moſt experienced phyſicians?

The ableſt miniſter that James ever poſſeſſed, the earl of Saliſbury, was dead;[m] Suffolk, a man of ſlender capacity, had ſucceeded him in his office; and it was now his taſk to ſupply, from an exhauſted treaſury, the profuſion of James and of his young favourite. The title of baronet, invented by Saliſbury, was ſold; and two hundred patents of that ſpecies of knighthood were diſpoſed of for ſo many thouſand pounds. Each rank of nobility had alſo its price affixed to it.[n] Privy ſeals were circulated to the amount of two hundred thouſand pounds. Benevolences were exacted to the amount of fifty-two thouſand pounds:[o] and ſome monopolies of no great value were erected. But all theſe expedients proved inſufficient to ſupply the king's neceſſities; even though he began to enter into ſome ſchemes for retrenching his expenſes.[p] However ſmall the hopes of ſucceſs, a new parliament muſt be ſummoned, and this dangerous expedient, for ſuch it was now become, once more be put to trial.

A PARLIAMENT. 1614.

When the commons were aſſembled they diſcovered an extraordinary alarm, on account of the rumour which was ſpread abroad concerning undertakers.[q] It was reported that ſeveral perſons, attached to the king, had entered into a confederacy; and, having laid a regular plan for the new elections, had diſtributed their intereſt all over England, and had undertaken to ſecure a majority for the court. So ignorant were the commons,

that they knew not this incident to be the firſt infallible ſymptom of any regular or eſtabliſhed liberty. Had they been contented to follow the maxims of their predeceſſors, who, as the earl of Saliſbury ſaid to the laſt parliament, never (but thrice in ſix hundred years) refuſed a ſupply,[r] they needed not dread that the crown ſhould ever intereſt itſelf in their elections. Formerly the kings even inſiſted that none of their houſehold ſhould be elected members; and, though the charter was afterwards declared void, Henry VI, from his great favour to the city of York, conferred a peculiar privilege on its citizens, that they ſhould be exempted from this trouble.[s] It is well known that in ancient times, a ſeat in the houſe being conſidered as a burden, attended neither with honour nor profit, it was requiſite for the counties and boroughs to pay fees to their repreſentatives. About this time a ſeat began to be regarded as an honour, and the country gentlemen contended for it; though the practice of levying wages for the parliament-men was not altogether diſcontinued. It was not till long after, when liberty was thoroughly eſtabliſhed, and popular aſſemblies entered into every branch of public buſineſs, that the members began to join profit to honour, and the crown found it neceſſary to diſtribute among them all the conſiderable offices of the kingdom.

So little ſkill or ſo ſmall means had the courtiers, in James's reign, for managing elections, that this houſe of commons ſhewed rather a ſtronger ſpirit of liberty than the foregoing; and, inſtead of entering upon the buſineſs of ſupply, as urged by the king, who made them ſeveral liberal offers of grace,[t] they immediately reſumed the ſubject which had been opened laſt parliament, and diſputed his majeſty's power of levying new cuſtoms and impoſitions by the mere authority of his prerogative. It is remarkable that, in their debates on this ſubject, the courtiers frequently pleaded, as a precedent, the example of all the other

hereditary monarchs in Europe, and particularly mentioned the kings of France and Spain; nor was this reaſoning received by the houſe either with ſurpriſe or indignation.[u] The members of the oppoſite party either contented themſelves with denying the juſtneſs of the inference, or they diſputed the truth of the obſervation.[x] And a patriot member in particular, ſir Roger Owen, even in arguing againſt the impoſitions, frankly allowed that the king of England was endowed with as ample power and prerogative as any prince in Chriſtendom.[y] The nations on the continent, we may obſerve, enjoyed ſtill, in that age, ſome ſmall remains of liberty; and the Engliſh were poſſeſſed of little more.

The commons applied to the lords for a conference with regard to the new impoſitions. A ſpeech of Neile biſhop of Lincoln, reflecting on the lower houſe, begat ſome altercation with the peers;[z] and the king ſeized the opportunity of diſſolving immediately, with great indignation, a parliament which had ſhewn ſo firm a reſolution of retrenching his prerogative without communicating, in return, the ſmalleſt ſupply to his neceſſities. He carried his reſentment ſo far as even to throw into priſon ſome of the members, who had been the moſt forward in their oppoſition to his meaſures.[a] In vain did he plead, in excuſe for his violence, the example of Elizabeth and other princes of the line of Tudor, as well as Plantagenet. The people and the parliament, without abandoning for ever all their liberties and privileges, could acquieſce in none of theſe precedents, how ancient and frequent ſoever. And, were the authority of ſuch precedents admitted, the utmoſt that could be inferred is, that the conſtitution of England was at that time an inconſiſtent fabric, whoſe jarring and diſcordant parts muſt ſoon deſtroy each other; and, from the diſſolution of the old, beget ſome new form of civil government more uniform and conſiſtent.

In the public and avowed conduct of the king and the houſe of commons, throughout this whole reign, there appears ſufficient cauſe of quarrel and mutual diſguſt; yet are we not to imagine that this was the ſole foundation of that jealouſy which prevailed between them. During debates in the houſe it often happened that a particular member, more ardent and zealous than the reſt, would diſplay the higheſt ſentiments of liberty, which the commons contented themſelves to hear with ſilence and ſeeming approbation; and the king, informed of theſe harangues, concluded the whole houſe to be infected with the ſame principles, and to be engaged in a combination againſt his prerogative. The king, on the other hand, though he valued himſelf extremely on his king-craft, and perhaps was not altogether incapable of diſſimulation, ſeems to have been very little endowed with the gift of ſecrecy; but openly, at his table, in all companies, inculcated thoſe monarchical tenets which he had ſo ſtrongly imbibed. Before a numerous audience he had expreſſed himſelf with great diſparagement of the common law of England, and had given the preference, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the civil law: and for this indiſcretion he found himſelf obliged to apologize, in a ſpeech to the former parliament.[b] As a ſpecimen of his uſual liberty of talk, we may mention a ſtory, though it paſſed ſome time after, which we meet with in the life of Waller, and which that poet uſed frequently to repeat. When Waller was young he had the curioſity to go to court; and he ſtood in the circle, and ſaw James dine; where, among other company, there ſat at table two biſhops, Neile and Andrews. The king propoſed aloud this queſtion, Whether he might not take his ſubjects' money, when he needed it, without all this formality of parliament? Neile replied, 'God forbid you ſhould not; for you are the breath of our noſtrils.' Andrews declined anſwering, and ſaid he was not ſkilled in parliamentary caſes:

but, upon the king's urging him, and ſaying he would admit of no evaſion, the biſhop replied pleaſantly, 'Why then I think your majeſty may lawfully take my brother Neile's money,[c] for he offers it.'

SOMERSET'S FALL. 1615.

THE favourite had hitherto eſcaped the inquiry of juſtice; but he had not eſcaped that ſtill voice which can make itſelf be heard amidſt all the hurry and flattery of a court, and aſtoniſhes the criminal with a juſt repreſentation of his moſt ſecret enormities. Conſcious of the murder of his friend, Somerſet received ſmall conſolation from the enjoyments of love, or the utmoſt kindneſs and indulgence of his ſovereign. The graces of his youth gradually diſappeared, the gaiety of his manners was obſcured, his politeneſs and obliging behaviour were changed into ſullenneſs and ſilence; and the king, whoſe affections had been engaged by theſe ſuperficial accompliſhments, began to eſtrange himſelf from a man who no longer contributed to his amuſement.

The ſagacious courtiers obſerved the firſt ſymptoms of this diſguſt: Somerſet's enemies ſeized the opportunity, and offered a new minion to the king. George Villiers, a youth of one-and-twenty, younger brother of a good family, returned at this time from his travels, and was remarked for the advantages of a handſome perſon, genteel air, and faſhionable apparel. At a comedy he was purpoſely placed full in James's eye, and immediately engaged the attention, and, in the ſame inſtant, the affections of that monarch.[d] Aſhamed of his ſudden attachment, the king endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal the partiality which he felt for the handſome ſtranger; and he employed all his profound politics to fix him in his ſervice, without ſeeming to de-

ſire it. He declared his reſolution not to confer any office on him unleſs entreated by the queen; and he pretended that it ſhould only be in complaiſance to her choice he would agree to admit him near his perſon. The queen was immediately applied to; but ſhe, well knowing the extreme to which the king carried theſe attachments, refuſed at firſt to lend her countenance to this new paſſion. It was not till entreated by Abbot archbiſhop of Canterbury (a decent prelate, and one much prejudiced againſt Somerſet) that ſhe would condeſcend to oblige her huſband, by aſking this favour of him.[e] And the king, thinking now that all appearances were fully ſaved, no longer conſtrained his affection, but immediately beſtowed the office of cupbearer on young Villiers.

The whole court was thrown into parties between the two minions; while ſome endeavoured to advance the riſing fortunes of Villiers, others deemed it ſafer to adhere to the eſtabliſhed credit of Somerſet. The king himſelf, divided between inclination and decorum, increaſed the doubt and ambiguity of the courtiers; and the ſtern jealouſy of the old favourite, who refuſed every advance of friendſhip from his rival, begat perpetual quarrels between their ſeveral partiſans. But the diſcovery of Somerſet's guilt in the murder of Overbury at laſt decided the controverſy, and expoſed him to the ruin and infamy which he ſo well merited.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poiſons, having retired to Fluſhing, began to talk very freely of the whole ſecret; and the affair at laſt came to the ears of Trumbal, the king's envoy in the Low Countries. By his means ſir Ralph Winwood, ſecretary of ſtate, was informed, and he immediately carried the intelligence to James. The king, alarmed and aſtoniſhed to find ſuch enormous guilt in a man whom he had admitted into his boſom, ſent for ſir

Edward Coke, chief juſtice, and earneſtly recommended to him the moſt rigorous and unbiaſſed ſcrutiny. This injunction was executed with great induſtry and ſeverity; the whole labyrinth of guilt was carefully unravelled; the leſſer criminals, ſir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the tower, Franklin, Weſton, Mrs. Turner, were firſt tried and condemned; Somerſet and his counteſs were afterwards found guilty. Northampton's death, a little before, had ſaved him from a like fate.

It may not be unworthy of remark that Coke, in the trial of Mrs. Turner, told her that ſhe was guilty of the ſeven deadly ſins; ſhe was a whore, a bawd, a ſorcerer, a witch, a papiſt, a felon, and a murderer.[f] And, what may more ſurpriſe us, Bacon, then attorney-general, took care to obſerve that poiſoning was a popiſh trick.[g] Such were the bigoted prejudices which prevailed: poiſoning was not, of itſelf, ſufficiently odious, if it were not repreſented as a branch of popery. Stowe tells us that, when the king came to Newcaſtle, on his firſt entry into England, he gave liberty to all the priſoners, except thoſe who were confined for treaſon, murder, and papiſtry. When one conſiders theſe circumſtances, that furious bigotry of the catholics which broke out in the Gunpowder conſpiracy appears the leſs ſurpriſing.

All the accomplices in Overbury's murder received the puniſhment due to their crime: but the king beſtowed a pardon on the principals, Somerſet and the counteſs. It muſt be confeſſed that James's fortitude had been highly laudable, had he perſiſted in his firſt intention of conſigning over to ſevere juſtice all the criminals: but let us ſtill beware of blaming him too harſhly, if, on the approach of the fatal hour, he ſcrupled to deliver into the hands of the executioner perſons whom he had once favoured with his moſt tender affections. To ſoften the rigour of their fate, after ſome years impriſonment, he reſtored

them to their liberty, and conferred on them a penſion, with which they retired, and languiſhed out old age in infamy and obſcurity. Their guilty loves were turned into the moſt deadly hatred; and they paſſed many years together in the ſame houſe without any intercourſe or correſpondence with each other.[h]

Several hiſtorians,[i] in relating theſe events, have inſiſted much on the diſſimulation of James's behaviour when he delivered Somerſet into the hands of the chief juſtice; on the inſolent menaces of that criminal; on his peremptory refuſal to ſtand a trial; and on the extreme anxiety of the king during the whole progreſs of this affair. Allowing all theſe circumſtances to be true, of which ſome are ſuſpicious, if not palpably falſe,[k] the great remains of tenderneſs which James ſtill felt for Somerſet may perhaps be ſufficient to account for them. That favourite was high-ſpirited, and reſolute rather to periſh than live under the infamy to which he was expoſed. James was ſenſible that the pardoning of ſo great a criminal, which was of itſelf invidious, would become ſtill more unpopular if his obſtinate and ſtubborn behaviour on his trial ſhould augment the public hatred againſt him.[l] At leaſt the unreſerved confidence, in which the king had indulged his favourite for ſeveral years, might render Somerſet maſter of ſo many ſecrets, that it is impoſſible, without farther light, to aſſign the particular reaſon of that ſuperiority, which, it is ſaid, he appeared ſo much to aſſume.

RISE OF BUCKINGHAM.

The fall of Somerſet, and his baniſhment from court, opened the way for Villiers to mount up at once to the full height of favour, of honours, and of riches. Had James's paſſion been governed by common rules of prudence, the office of cup-bearer would have attached Villiers to his perſon, and might well have

contented one of his age and family; nor would any one, who was not cynically auſtere, have much cenſured the ſingularity of the king's choice in his friends and favourites. But ſuch advancement was far inferior to the fortune which he intended for his minion. In the courſe of a few years he created him viſcount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, maſter of the horſe, chief juſtice in eyre, warden of the cinque ports, maſter of the king's-bench office, ſteward of Weſtminſter, conſtable of Windſor, and lord high admiral of England.[m] His mother obtained the title of counteſs of Buckingham; his brother was created viſcount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all puſhed up into credit and authority. And thus the fond prince, while he meant to play the tutor to his favourite, and to train him up in the rules of prudence and politics, took an infallible method, by loading him with premature and exorbitant honours, to render him for ever raſh, precipitate, and inſolent

A young minion to gratify with pleaſure, a neceſſitous family to ſupply with riches, were enterpriſes too great for the empty exchequer of James. In order to obtain a little money, the cautionary towns muſt be delivered up to the Dutch; a meaſure which has been ſeverely blamed by almoſt all hiſtorians; and I may venture to affirm that it has been cenſured much beyond its real weight and importance.

CAUTIONARY TOWNS DELIVERED. 1616.

When queen Elizabeth advanced money for the ſupport of the infant republic, beſides the view of ſecuring herſelf againſt the power and ambition of Spain, ſhe ſtill reſerved the proſpect of reimburſement; and ſhe got conſigned into her hands the three important fortreſſes of Fluſhing, the Brille, and Rammekins, as

pledges for the money due to her. Indulgent to the neceſſitous condition of the States, ſhe agreed that the debt ſhould bear no intereſt; and ſhe ſtipulated that, if ever England ſhould make a ſeparate peace with Spain, ſhe ſhould pay the troops which garriſoned thoſe fortreſſes.[n]

After the truce was concluded between Spain and the United Provinces, the States made an agreement with the king that the debt, which then amounted to eight hundred thouſand pounds, ſhould be diſcharged by yearly payments of forty thouſand pounds; and, as five years had elapſed, the debt was now reduced to ſix hundred thouſand pounds; and in fifteen years more, if the truce were renewed, it would be finally extinguiſhed.[o] But of this ſum, twenty-ſix thouſand pounds a year were expended on the pay of the garriſons; the remainder alone accrued to the king; and the States, weighing theſe circumſtances, thought that they made James a very advantageous offer when they expreſſed their willingneſs, on the ſurrender of the cautionary towns, to pay him immediately two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, and to incorporate the Engliſh garriſons in their army. It occurred alſo to the king that even the payment of the forty thouſand pounds a year was precarious, and depended on the accident that the truce ſhould be renewed between Spain and the republic: if war broke out, the maintenance of the garriſons lay upon England alone; a burden very uſeleſs, and too heavy for the ſlender revenues of that kingdom: that, even during the truce, the Dutch, ſtraitened by other expenſes, were far from being regular in their payments; and the garriſons were at preſent in danger of mutinying for want of ſubſiſtence: that the annual ſum of fourteen thouſand pounds, the whole ſaving on the Dutch payments, amounted, in fifteen years, to no more than two hundred and ten thouſand pounds; whereas two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds were offered immediately; a

larger ſum, and, if money be computed at ten per cent. the current intereſt, more than double the ſum to which England was entitled:[p] that, if James waited till the whole debt were diſcharged, the troops, which compoſed the garriſons, remained a burden upon him, and could not be broken without receiving ſome conſideration for their paſt ſervices: that the cautionary towns were only a temporary reſtraint upon the Hollanders; and, in the preſent emergence, the conjunction of intereſt between England and the republic was ſo intimate as to render all other ties ſuperfluous; and no reaſonable meaſures for mutual ſupport would be wanting from the Dutch, even though freed from the dependance of theſe garriſons: that the exchequer of the republic was at preſent very low, inſomuch that they found difficulty, now that the aids of France were withdrawn, to maintain themſelves in that poſture of defence which was requiſite during the truce with Spain: and that the Spaniards were perpetually inſiſting with the king on the reſtitution of theſe towns, as belonging to their crown; and no cordial alliance could ever be made with that nation while they remained in the hands of the Engliſh.[q] Theſe reaſons, together with his urgent wants, induced the king to accept of Caron's offer; and he evacuated the cautionary towns, which held the States in a degree of ſubjection, and which an ambitious and enterpriſing prince would have regarded as his moſt valuable poſſeſſions. This is the date of the full liberty of the Dutch commonwealth.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND. 1617.

When the crown of England devolved on James, it might have been foreſeen by the Scottiſh nation that the independence of their kingdom, the object for which their anceſtors had ſhed ſo much blood, would now be loſt; and that, if both ſtates perſe-

vered in maintaining ſeparate laws and parliaments, the weaker would more ſenſibly feel the ſubjection than if it had been totally ſubdued by force of arms. But theſe views did not generally occur. The glory of having given a ſovereign to their powerful enemy, the advantages of preſent peace and tranquillity, the riches acquired from the munificence of their maſter; theſe conſiderations ſecured their dutiful obedience to a prince who daily gave ſuch ſenſible proofs of his friendſhip and partiality towards them. Never had the authority of any king, who reſided among them, been ſo firmly eſtabliſhed as was that of James, even when abſent; and, as the adminiſtration had been hitherto conducted with great order and tranquillity, there had happened no occurrence to draw thither our attention. But this ſummer the king was reſolved to pay a viſit to his native country, in order to renew his ancient friendſhips and connections, and to introduce that change of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and government on which he was extremely intent. The three chief points of this kind, which James propoſed to accompliſh by his journey to Scotland, were, the enlarging of epiſcopal authority, the eſtabliſhing of a few ceremonies in public worſhip, and the fixing of a ſuperiority in the civil above the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

But it is an obſervation ſuggeſted by all hiſtory, and by none more than by that of James and his ſucceſſor, that the religious ſpirit, when it mingles with faction, contains in it ſomething ſupernatural and unaccountable; and that, in its operations upon ſociety, effects correſpond leſs to their known cauſes than is found in any other circumſtance of government. A reflection which may at once afford a ſource of blame againſt ſuch ſovereigns as lightly innovate in ſo dangerous an article; and of apology for ſuch as, being engaged in an enterpriſe of that nature, are diſappointed of the expected event, and fail in their undertakings.

When the Scottiſh nation was firſt ſeized with that zeal for reformation which, though it cauſed ſuch diſturbance during the time, has proved ſo ſalutary in the conſequences, the preachers, aſſuming a character little inferior to the prophetic or apoſtolical, diſdained all ſubjection to the ſpiritual rulers of the church, by whom their innovations were puniſhed and oppoſed. The revenues of the dignified clergy, no longer conſidered as ſacred, were either appropriated by the preſent poſſeſſors, or ſeized by the more powerful barons; and what remained, after mighty dilapidations, was, by act of parliament, annexed to the crown. The prelates however, and abbots, maintained their temporal juriſdictions and their ſeats in parliament; and, though laymen were ſometimes endowed with eccleſiaſtical titles, the church, notwithſtanding its frequent proteſtations to the contrary, was ſtill ſuppoſed to be repreſented by thoſe ſpiritual lords in the ſtates of the kingdom. After many ſtruggles the king, even before his acceſſion to the throne of England, had acquired ſufficient influence over the Scottiſh clergy to extort from them an acknowledgment of the parliamentary juriſdiction of biſhops, though attended with many precautions, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt the ſpiritual encroachments of that order. When king of England he engaged them, though ſtill with great reluctance on their part, to advance a ſtep farther, and to receive the biſhops as perpetual preſidents or moderators in their eccleſiaſtical ſynods; reiterating their proteſtations againſt all ſpiritual juriſdiction of the prelates, and all controlling power over the preſbyters. And by ſuch gradual innovations the king flattered himſelf that he ſhould quietly introduce epiſcopal authority; but, as his final ſcope was fully ſeen from the beginning, every new advance gave freſh occaſion of diſcontent, and aggravated, inſtead of ſoftening, the abhorrence entertained againſt the prelacy.

What rendered the king's aim more apparent were, the endeavours which, at the ſame time, he uſed to introduce into Scotland ſome of the ceremonies of the church of England; the reſt, it was eaſily foreſeen, would ſoon follow. The fire of devotion, excited by novelty and inflamed by oppoſition, had ſo poſſeſſed the minds of the Scottiſh reformers, that all rites and ornaments, and even order of worſhip, were diſdainfully rejected as uſeleſs burdens; retarding the imagination in its rapturous ecſtaſies, and cramping the operations of that divine Spirit by which they ſuppoſed themſelves to be animated. A mode of worſhip was eſtabliſhed, the moſt naked and moſt ſimple imaginable; one that borrowed nothing from the ſenſes; but repoſed itſelf entirely on the contemplation of that divine eſſence which diſcovers itſelf to the underſtanding only. This ſpecies of devotion, ſo worthy of the Supreme Being, but ſo little ſuitable to human frailty, was obſerved to occaſion great diſturbances in the breaſt, and in many reſpects to confound all rational principles of conduct and behaviour. The mind, ſtraining for theſe extraordinary raptures, reaching them by ſhort glances, ſinking again under its own weakneſs, rejecting all exterior aid of pomp and ceremony, was ſo occupied in this inward life, that it fled from every intercourſe of ſociety, and from every cheerful amuſement which could ſoften or humanize the character. It was obvious to all diſcerning eyes, and had not eſcaped the king's, that, by the prevalence of fanaticiſm, a gloomy and ſullen diſpoſition eſtabliſhed itſelf among the people; a ſpirit obſtinate and dangerous, independent and diſorderly; animated equally with a contempt of authority, and a hatred to every other mode of religion, particularly to the catholic. In order to mellow theſe humours, James endeavoured to infuſe a ſmall tincture of ceremony into the national worſhip, and to introduce ſuch rites as might, in ſome degree, occupy the mind and pleaſe the

ſenſes, without departing too far from that ſimplicity by which the reformation was diſtinguiſhed. The finer arts too, though ſtill rude in theſe northern kingdoms, were employed to adorn the churches; and the king's chapel, in which an organ was erected and ſome pictures and ſtatues diſplayed, was propoſed as a model to the reſt of the nation. But muſic was grating to the prejudiced ears of the Scottiſh clergy; ſculpture and painting appeared inſtruments of idolatry; the ſurplice was a rag of popery; and every motion or geſture, preſcribed by the liturgy, was a ſtep towards that ſpiritual Babylon, ſo much the object of their horror and averſion. Every thing was deemed impious but their own myſtical comments on the Scriptures, which they idolized, and whoſe eaſtern prophetic ſtyle they employed in every common occurrence.

It will not be neceſſary to give a particular account of the ceremonies which the king was ſo intent to eſtabliſh. Such inſtitutions, for a time, are eſteemed either too divine to have proceeded from any other being than the ſupreme Creator of the univerſe, or too diabolical to have been derived from any but an infernal demon. But no ſooner is the mode of the controverſy paſt, than they are univerſally diſcovered to be of ſo little importance, as ſcarcely to be mentioned with decency amidſt the ordinary courſe of human tranſactions. It ſuffices here to remark that the rites introduced by James regarded the kneeling at the ſacrament, private communion, private baptiſm, confirmation of children, and the obſervance of Chriſtmas and other feſtivals.[r] The acts, eſtabliſhing theſe ceremonies, were afterwards known by the name of the articles of Perth, from the place where they were ratified by the aſſembly.

A conformity of diſcipline and worſhip between the churches of England and Scotland, which was James's aim, he never could hope to eſtabliſh, but by firſt procuring an acknowledgment of

his own authority in all ſpiritual cauſes; and nothing could be more contrary to the practice as well as principles of the preſbyterian clergy. The eccleſiaſtical courts poſſeſſed the power of pronouncing excommunication; and that ſentence, beſides the ſpiritual conſequences ſuppoſed to follow from it, was attended with immediate effects of the moſt important nature. The perſon excommunicated was ſhunned by every one as profane and impious; and his whole eſtate during his lifetime, and all his moveables for ever, were forfeited to the crown. Nor were the previous ſteps, requiſite before pronouncing this ſentence, formal or regular in proportion to the weight of it. Without accuſer, without ſummons, without trial, any eccleſiaſtical court, however inferior, ſometimes pretended, in a ſummary manner, to denounce excommunication for any cauſe, and againſt any perſon, even though he lived not within the bounds of their juriſdiction.[s] And by this means the whole tyranny of the inquiſition, though without its order, was introduced into the kingdom.

But the clergy were not content with the unlimited juriſdiction which they exerciſed in eccleſiaſtical matters: they aſſumed a cenſorial power over every part of adminiſtration; and, in all their ſermons, and even prayers, mingling politics with religion, they inculcated the moſt ſeditious and moſt turbulent principles. Black, miniſter of St. Andrews, went ſo far, in a ſermon preached in 1596, as to pronounce all kings the devil's children. He gave the queen of England the appellation of Atheiſt. He ſaid that the treachery of the king's heart was now fully diſcovered; and in his prayers for the queen he uſed theſe words; 'We muſt pray for her for the faſhion's ſake, but we have no cauſe: ſhe will never do us any good.' When ſummoned before the privy council he refuſed to anſwer to a civil court for any thing delivered from the pulpit, even though the crime of which he

was accuſed was of a civil nature. The church adopted his cauſe. They raiſed a ſedition in Edinburgh.[t] The king, during ſome time, was in the hands of the enraged populace; and it was not without courage, as well as dexterity, that he was able to extricate himſelf.[u] A few days after a miniſter, preaching in the principal church of that capital, ſaid that the king was poſſeſſed with a devil; and that, one devil being expelled, ſeven worſe had entered in his place.[x] To which he added, that the ſubjects might lawfully riſe, and take the ſword out of his hand. Scarcely, even during the darkeſt night of papal ſuperſtition, are there found ſuch inſtances of prieſtly encroachments as the annals of Scotland preſent to us during that period.

By theſe extravagant ſtretches of power, and by the patient conduct of James, the church began to loſe ground, even before the king's acceſſion to the throne of England: but no ſooner had that event taken place than he made the Scottiſh clergy ſenſible that he was become the ſovereign of a great kingdom, which he governed with great authority. Though formerly he would have thought himſelf happy to have made a fair partition with them of the civil and eccleſiaſtical authority, he was now reſolved to exert a ſupreme juriſdiction in church as well as ſtate, and to put an end to their ſeditious practices. An aſſembly had been ſummoned at Aberdeen:[y] but, on account of his journey to London, he prorogued it to the year following. Some of the clergy, diſavowing his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, met at the time firſt appointed, notwithſtanding his prohibition. He threw them into priſon. Such of them as ſubmitted, and acknowledged their error, were pardoned; the reſt were brought to their trial. They were condemned for high treaſon. The king gave them their lives; but baniſhed them the kingdom. Six of them ſuffered this penalty.[z]

The general aſſembly was afterwards induced [a] to acknowledge the king's authority in ſummoning eccleſiaſtical courts, and to ſubmit to the juriſdiction and viſitation of the biſhops. Even their favourite ſentence of excommunication was declared invalid, unleſs confirmed by the ordinary. The king recommended to the inferior courts the members whom they ſhould elect to this aſſembly; and every thing was conducted in it with little appearance of choice and liberty.[b]

By his own prerogative likewiſe, which he ſeems to have ſtretched on this occaſion, the king erected a court of high commiſſion,[c] in imitation of that which was eſtabliſhed in England. The biſhops and a few of the clergy, who had been ſummoned, willingly acknowledged this court; and it proceeded immediately upon buſineſs, as if its authority had been grounded on the full conſent of the whole legiſlature.

But James reſerved the final blow for the time when he ſhould himſelf pay a viſit to Scotland. He propoſed to the parliament, which was then aſſembled, that they ſhould enact that 'whatever his majeſty ſhould determine in the external government of the church, with the conſent of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and a competent number of the miniſtry,[d] ſhould have the force of law.' What number ſhould be deemed competent was not determined; and their nomination was left entirely to the king; ſo that his eccleſiaſtical authority, had this bill paſſed, would have been eſtabliſhed in its full extent. Some of the clergy proteſted. They apprehended, they ſaid, that the purity of their church would, by means of this new authority, be polluted with all the rites and liturgy of the church of England. James, dreading clamour and oppoſition, dropped the bill, which had already paſſed the lords of articles; and aſſerted that the inherent prerogative of the crown contained more power than was recognized by it. Some time after he called, at St. Andrews, a meet-

ing of the biſhops and thirty-ſix of the moſt eminent clergy. He there declared his reſolution of exerting his prerogative, and of eſtabliſhing, by his own authority, the few ceremonies which he had recommended to them. They entreated him rather to ſummon a general aſſembly, and to gain their aſſent. An aſſembly was accordingly ſummoned to meet on the twenty-fifth of November enſuing.

Yet this aſſembly, which met after the king's departure from Scotland, eluded all his applications; and it was not till the ſubſequent year that he was able to procure a vote for receiving his ceremonies. And through every ſtep of this affair, in the parliament as well as in all the general aſſemblies, the nation betrayed the utmoſt reluctance to all theſe innovations; and nothing but James's importunity and authority had extorted a ſeeming conſent, which was belied by the inward ſentiments of all ranks of people. Even the few, over whom religious prejudices were not prevalent, thought national honour ſacrificed by a ſervile imitation of the modes of worſhip practiſed in England. And every prudent man agreed in condemning the meaſures of the king, who, by an ill-timed zeal for inſignificant ceremonies, had betrayed, though in an oppoſite manner, equal narrowneſs of mind with the perſons whom he treated with ſuch contempt. It was judged that, had not theſe dangerous humours been irritated by oppoſition, had they been allowed peaceably to evaporate, they would at laſt have ſubſided within the limits of law and civil authority, and that, as all fanatical religions naturally circumſcribe to very narrow bounds the numbers and riches of the eccleſiaſtics, no ſooner is their firſt fire ſpent, than they loſe their credit over the people, and leave them under the natural and beneficent influence of their civil and moral obligations.

At the ſame time that James ſhocked in ſo violent a manner the religious principles of his Scottiſh ſubjects, he acted in op-

poſition to thoſe of his Engliſh. He had obſerved, in his progreſs through England, that a judaical obſervance of the Sunday, chiefly by means of the puritans, was every day gaining ground throughout the kingdom; and that the people, under colour of religion, were, contrary to former practice, debarred ſuch ſports and recreations as contributed both to their health and their amuſement.[e] Feſtivals, which, in other nations and ages, are partly dedicated to public worſhip, partly to mirth and ſociety, were here totally appropriated to the offices of religion, and ſerved to nouriſh thoſe ſullen and gloomy contemplations, to which the people were of themſelves ſo unfortunately ſubject. The king imagined that it would be eaſy to infuſe cheerfulneſs into this dark ſpirit of devotion. He iſſued a proclamation to allow and encourage, after divine ſervice, all kinds of lawful games and exerciſes; and, by his authority, he endeavoured to give ſanction to a practice which his ſubjects regarded as the utmoſt inſtance of profaneneſs and impiety.[f]

CHAPTER XLVIII.

JAMES I.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S EXPEDITION....HIS EXECUTION....INSURRECTIONS IN BOHEMIA....LOSS OF THE PALATINATE....NEGOCIATIONS WITH SPAIN....A PARLIAMENT....FALL OF BACON....RUPTURE BETWEEN KING AND COMMONS....PROTESTATION OF THE COMMONS.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S EXPEDITION. 1618.

AT the time when ſir Walter Raleigh was firſt confined in the tower his violent and haughty temper had rendered him the moſt unpopular man in England; and his condemnation was chiefly owing to that public odium under which he laboured. During the thirteen years impriſonment which he ſuffered the ſentiments of the nation were much changed with regard to him. Men had leiſure to reflect on the hardſhip, not to ſay injuſtice, of his ſentence; they pitied his active and enterpriſing ſpirit, which languiſhed in the rigours of confinement; they were ſtruck with the extenſive genius of the man, who, being educated amidſt naval and military enterpriſes, had ſurpaſſed, in the purſuits of literature, even thoſe of the moſt recluſe and ſedentary lives; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which, at his age and under his circumſtances, could engage him to

undertake and execute ſo great a work as his Hiſtory of the World. To increaſe theſe favourable diſpoſitions, on which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, he ſpread the report of a golden mine, which he had diſcovered in Guiana, and which was ſufficient, according to his repreſentation, not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to afford immenſe treaſures to the nation. The king gave little credit to theſe mighty promiſes; both becauſe he believed that no ſuch mine as the one deſcribed was any where in nature, and becauſe he conſidered Raleigh as a man of deſperate fortunes, whoſe buſineſs it was by any means to procure his freedom, and to reinſtate himſelf in credit and authority. Thinking, however, that he had already undergone ſufficient puniſhment, he releaſed him from the tower; and, when his vaunts of the golden mine had induced multitudes to engage with him, the king gave them permiſſion to try the adventure, and, at their deſire, he conferred on Raleigh authority over his fellow adventurers. Though ſtrongly ſolicited, he ſtill refuſed to grant him a pardon, which ſeemed a natural conſequence when he was intruſted with power and command. But James declared himſelf ſtill diffident of Raleigh's intentions; and he meant, he ſaid, to reſerve the former ſentence, as a check upon his future behaviour.

Raleigh well knew that it was far from the king's purpoſe to invade any of the Spaniſh ſettlements; he therefore firmly denied that Spain had planted any colonies on that part of the coaſt where his mine lay. When Gondomar, the ambaſſador of that nation, alarmed at his preparations, carried complaints to the king, Raleigh ſtill proteſted the innocence of his intentions; and James aſſured Gondomar that he durſt not form any hoſtile attempt, but ſhould pay with his head for ſo audacious an enterpriſe. The miniſter, however, concluding that twelve armed veſſels were not fitted out without ſome purpoſe of invaſion,

conveyed the intelligence to the court of Madrid, who immediately gave orders for arming and fortifying all their ſettlements, particularly thoſe along the coaſt of Guiana.

When the courage and avarice of the Spaniards and Portugueſe had diſcovered ſo many new worlds, they were reſolved to ſhew themſelves ſuperior to the barbarous heathens whom they invaded, not only in arts and arms, but alſo in the juſtice of the quarrel: they applied to Alexander VI, who then filled the papal chair; and he generouſly beſtowed on the Spaniards the whole weſtern, and on the Portugueſe the whole eaſtern, part of the globe. The more ſcrupulous proteſtants, who acknowledged not the authority of the Roman pontiff, eſtabliſhed the firſt diſcovery as the foundation of their title; and, if a pirate or ſea adventurer of their nation had but erected a ſtick or ſtone on the coaſt, as a memorial of his taking poſſeſſion, they concluded the whole continent to belong to them, and thought themſelves entitled to expel or exterminate, as uſurpers, the ancient poſſeſſors and inhabitants. It was in this manner that ſir Walter Raleigh, about twenty-three years before, had acquired to the crown of England a claim to the continent of Guiana, a region as large as the half of Europe; and, though he had immediately left the coaſt, yet he pretended that the Engliſh title to the whole remained certain and indefeazable. But it had happened in the mean time that the Spaniards, not knowing, or not acknowledging, this imaginary claim, had taken poſſeſſion of a part of Guiana, had formed a ſettlement on the river Oronooko, had built a little town called St. Thomas, and were there working ſome mines of ſmall value.

To this place Raleigh directly bent his courſe; and, remaining himſelf at the mouth of the river with five of the largeſt ſhips, he ſent up the reſt to St. Thomas, under the command of his ſon, and of captain Keymis, a perſon entirely devoted to him.

The Spaniards, who had expected this invaſion, fired on the Engliſh at their landing, were repulſed, and purſued into the town. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, that this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other; and, advancing upon the Spaniards, received a ſhot, of which he immediately expired. This diſmayed not Keymis and the others. They carried on the attack, got poſſeſſion of the town, which they afterwards reduced to aſhes, and found not in it any thing of value.

Raleigh did not pretend that he had himſelf ſeen the mine, which he had engaged ſo many people to go in queſt of: it was Keymis, he ſaid, who had formerly diſcovered it, and had brought him that lump of ore which promiſed ſuch immenſe treaſures. Yet Keymis, who owned that he was within two hours' march of the place, refuſed, on the moſt abſurd pretences, to take any effectual ſtep towards finding it; and he returned immediately to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his ſon's death, and the ill ſucceſs of the enterpriſe. Senſible to reproach, and dreading puniſhment for his behaviour, Keymis, in deſpair, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his own life.

The other adventurers now concluded that they were deceived by Raleigh; that he never had known of any ſuch mine as he pretended to go in ſearch of; that his intention had ever been to plunder St. Thomas; and, having encouraged his company by the ſpoils of that place, to have thence proceeded to the invaſion of the other Spaniſh ſettlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortunes by ſuch daring enterpriſes; and that he truſted to the money he ſhould acquire for making his peace with England; or, if that view failed him, that he purpoſed to retire into ſome other country, where his riches would ſecure his retreat.

The ſmall acquiſitions gained by the ſack of St. Thomas diſcouraged Raleigh's companions from entering into theſe views; though there were many circumſtances in the treaty and late tranſactions between the nations which might invite them to engage in ſuch a piratical war againſt the Spaniards.

When England made peace with Spain the example of Henry IV was imitated, who, at the treaty of Vervins, finding a difficulty in adjuſting all queſtions with regard to the Indian trade, had agreed to paſs over that article in total ſilence. The Spaniards, having all along publiſhed ſevere edicts againſt the intercourſe of any European nation with their colonies, interpreted this ſilence in their own favour, and conſidered it as a tacit acquieſcence of England in the eſtabliſhed laws of Spain. The Engliſh, on the contrary, pretended that, as they had never been excluded by any treaty from commerce with any part of the king of Spain's dominions, it was ſtill as lawful for them to trade with his ſettlements in either Indies as with his European territories. In conſequence of this ambiguity, many adventurers from England ſailed to the Spaniſh Indies, and met with ſevere puniſhment when caught; as they, on the other hand, often ſtole, and, when ſuperior in power, forced a trade with the inhabitants, and reſiſted, nay ſometimes plundered, the Spaniſh governors. Violences of this nature, which had been carried to a great height on both ſides, it was agreed to bury in total oblivion, becauſe of the difficulty which was found in remedying them upon any fixed principles.

But, as there appeared a great difference between private adventurers in ſingle ſhips and a fleet acting under a royal commiſſion, Raleigh's companions thought it ſafeſt to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to anſwer for his conduct. It appears that he employed many artifices, firſt to engage them to attack the Spaniſh ſettlements, and, fail-

ing of that, to make his eſcape into France. But, all theſe proving unſucceſsful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and ſtrictly examined, as well as his fellow adventurers, before the privy council. The council, upon inquiry, found no difficulty in pronouncing that the former ſuſpicions, with regard to Raleigh's intentions, had been well grounded; that he had abuſed the king in the repreſentations which he had made of his projected adventure; that, contrary to his inſtructions, he had acted in an offenſive and hoſtile manner againſt his majeſty's allies; and that he had wilfully burned and deſtroyed a town belonging to the king of Spain. He might have been tried either by common law for this act of violence and piracy, or by martial law for breach of orders: but it was an eſtabliſhed principle among lawyers [g] that, as he lay under an actual attainder for high treaſon, he could not be brought to a new trial for any other crime. To ſatisfy, therefore, the court of Spain, which raiſed the loudeſt complaints againſt him, the king made uſe of that power which he had purpoſely reſerved in his own hands, and ſigned the warrant for his execution upon his former ſentence.[h]

RALEIGH'S EXECUTION.

Raleigh, finding his fate inevitable, collected all his courage: and, though he had formerly made uſe of many mean artifices, ſuch as feigning madneſs, ſickneſs, and a variety of diſeaſes, in order to protract his examination and procure his eſcape, he now reſolved to act his part with bravery and reſolution. 'Tis a ſharp remedy,' he ſaid, 'but a ſure one for all ills,' when he felt the edge of the ax by which he was to be beheaded.[i] His harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he endeavoured to revenge himſelf, and to load his enemies with the public hatred, by ſtrong aſſeverations of facts, which, to ſay the

leaſt, may be eſteemed very doubtful.[k] With the utmoſt indifference he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow. And in his death there appeared the ſame great but ill-regulated mind which during his life had diſplayed itſelf in all his conduct and behaviour.

No meaſure of James's reign was attended with more public diſſatisfaction than the puniſhment of ſir Walter Raleigh. To execute a ſentence which was originally ſo hard, which had been ſo long ſuſpended, and which ſeemed to have been tacitly pardoned, by conferring on him a new truſt and commiſſion, was deemed an inſtance of cruelty and injuſtice. To ſacrifice, to a concealed enemy of England, the life of the only man in the nation who had a high reputation for valour and military experience, was regarded as meanneſs and indiſcretion: and the intimate connexions which the king was now entering into with Spain, being univerſally diſtaſteful, rendered this proof of his complaiſance ſtill more invidious and unpopular.

James had entertained an opinion, which was peculiar to himſelf, and which had been adopted by none of his predeceſſors, that any alliance below that of a great king was unworthy of a prince of Wales; and he never would allow any princeſs but a daughter of France or Spain to be mentioned as a match for his ſon.[l] This inſtance of pride, which really implies meanneſs, as if he could receive honour from any alliance, was ſo well known, that Spain had founded on it the hopes of governing, in the moſt important tranſactions, this monarch, ſo little celebrated for politics or prudence. During the life of Henry the king of Spain had dropped ſome hints of beſtowing on that prince his eldeſt daughter, whom he afterwards diſpoſed of in marriage to the young king of France, Lewis XIII. At that time the views of the Spaniards were to engage James into a neutrality with regard to the ſucceſſion of Cleves, which was diſ-

puted between the proteſtant and popiſh line.[m] But the bait did not then take; and James, in conſequence of his alliance with the Dutch, and with Henry IV of France, marched [n] four thouſand men under the command of ſir Edward Cecil, who joined theſe two powers, and put the marquis of Brandenburgh and the palatine of Newbourgh in poſſeſſion of that duchy.

Gondomar was at this time the Spaniſh ambaſſador in England; a man whoſe flattery was the more artful becauſe covered with the appearance of frankneſs and ſincerity; whoſe politics were the more dangerous becauſe diſguiſed under the maſk of mirth and pleaſantry. He now made offer of the ſecond daughter of Spain to prince Charles; and, that he might render the temptation irreſiſtible to the neceſſitous monarch, he gave hopes of an immenſe fortune, which would attend the princeſs. The court of Spain, though determined to contract no alliance with a heretic,[o] entered into negociations with James, which they artfully protracted, and, amidſt every diſappointment, they ſtill redoubled his hopes of ſucceſs.[p] The tranſactions in Germany, ſo important to the Auſtrian greatneſs, became every day a new motive for this duplicity of conduct.

INSURRECTIONS IN BOHEMIA.

In that great revolution of manners, which happened during the ſixteenth and the ſeventeenth centuries, the only nations who had the honourable, though often melancholy, advantage of making an effort for their expiring privileges, were ſuch as, together with the principles of civil liberty, were animated with a zeal for religious parties and opinions. Beſides the irreſiſtible force of ſtanding armies, the European princes poſſeſſed this advantage, that they were deſcended from the ancient royal families; that they continued the ſame appellations of magiſtrates,

the ſame appearance of civil government; and, reſtraining themſelves by all the forms of legal adminiſtration, could inſenſibly impoſe the yoke on their unguarded ſubjects. Even the German nations, who formerly broke the Roman chains and reſtored liberty to mankind, now loſt their own liberty, and ſaw with grief the abſolute authority of their princes firmly eſtabliſhed among them. In their circumſtances nothing but a pious zeal, which diſregards all motives of human prudence, could have made them entertain hopes of preſerving any longer thoſe privileges which their anceſtors through ſo many ages had tranſmitted to them.

As the houſe of Auſtria, throughout all her extenſive dominions, had ever made religion the pretence for her uſurpations, ſhe now met with reſiſtance from a like principle; and the catholic religion, as uſual, had ranged itſelf on the ſide of monarchy; the proteſtant on that of liberty. The ſtates of Bohemia, having taken arms againſt the emperor Matthias, continued their revolt againſt his ſucceſſor Ferdinand, and claimed the obſervance of all the edicts enacted in favour of the new religion, together with the reſtoration of their ancient laws and conſtitution. The neighbouring principalities, Sileſia, Moravia, Luſatia, Auſtria, even the kingdom of Hungary, took part in the quarrel; and throughout all theſe populous and martial provinces, the ſpirit of diſcord and civil war had univerſally diffuſed itſelf.[q]

Ferdinand II, who poſſeſſed more vigour and greater abilities, though not more lenity and moderation, than are uſual with the Auſtrian princes, ſtrongly armed himſelf for the recovery of his authority; and, beſides employing the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects, who profeſſed the ancient religion, he engaged on his ſide a powerful alliance of the neighbouring potentates. All the catholic princes of the empire had embraced his defence; even

Saxony, the moſt powerful of the proteſtant. Poland had declared itſelf in his favour.[r] And, above all, the Spaniſh monarch, deeming his own intereſt cloſely connected with that of the younger branch of his family, prepared powerful ſuccours from Italy, and from the Low Countries; and he alſo advanced large ſums for the ſupport of Ferdinand and of the catholic religion.

The ſtates of Bohemia, alarmed at theſe mighty preparations, began alſo to ſolicit foreign aſſiſtance; and, together with that ſupport which they obtained from the evangelical union in Germany, they endeavoured to eſtabliſh connexions with greater princes. They caſt their eyes on Frederic, elector palatine. They conſidered that, beſides commanding no deſpicable force of his own, he was ſon-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, whoſe authority was become almoſt abſolute in the United Provinces. They hoped that theſe princes, moved by the connexions of blood as well as by the tie of their common religion, would intereſt themſelves in all the fortunes of Frederic, and would promote his greatneſs. They therefore made him a tender of their crown, which they conſidered as elective; and the young palatine, ſtimulated by ambition, without conſulting either James[s] or Maurice, whoſe oppoſition he foreſaw, immediately accepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia, in ſupport of his new ſubjects.

The news of theſe events no ſooner reached England than the whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel. Scarcely was the ardour greater with which all the ſtates of Europe, in former ages, flew to reſcue the holy land from the dominion of infidels. The nation was as yet ſincerely attached to the blood of their monarchs; and they conſidered their connexion with the palatine, who had married a daughter of England, as very cloſe and intimate. And, when they heard of catholics carrying on

was and perſecutions againſt proteſtants, they thought their own intereſt deeply concerned, and regarded their neutrality as a baſe deſertion of the cauſe of God, and of his holy religion. In ſuch a quarrel they would gladly have marched to the oppoſite extremity of Europe, have plunged themſelves into a chaos of German politics, and have expended all the blood and treaſure of the nation, by maintaining a conteſt with the whole houſe of Auſtria, at the very time, and in the very place, in which it was the moſt potent, and almoſt irreſiſtible.

But James, beſides that his temper was too little enterpriſing for ſuch vaſt undertakings, was reſtrained by another motive, which had a mighty influence over him: he refuſed to patronize the revolt of ſubjects againſt their ſovereign: from the very firſt he denied to his ſon-in-law the title of King of Bohemia: he forbad him to be prayed for in the churches under that appellation: and, though he owned that he had nowiſe examined the pretenſions, privileges, and conſtitution, of the revolted ſtates, ſo exalted was his idea of the rights of kings, that he concluded ſubjects muſt ever be in the wrong when they ſtood in oppoſition to thoſe who had acquired or aſſumed that majeſtic title. Thus, even in meaſures founded on true politics, James intermixed ſo many narrow prejudices, as diminiſhed his authority, and expoſed him to the imputation of weakneſs and error.

LOSS OF THE PALATINATE. 1620.

Meanwhile affairs every where haſtened to a criſis. Ferdinand levied a great force, under the command of the duke of Bavaria and the count of Bucquoy; and advanced upon his enemy in Bohemia. In the Low Countries Spinola collected a veteran army of thirty thouſand men. When Edmonds, the king's reſident at Bruſſels, made remonſtrances to the archduke Albert, he was

anſwered, that the orders for this armament had been tranſmitted to Spinola from Madrid, and that he alone knew the ſecret deſtination of it. Spinola again told the miniſter that his orders were ſtill ſealed; but, if Edmonds would accompany him in his march to Coblentz, he would there open them, and give him full ſatisfaction.[w] It was more eaſy to ſee his intentions than to prevent their ſucceſs. Almoſt at one time it was known in England that Frederic, being defeated in the great and deciſive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland, and that Spinola had invaded the Palatinate, and, meeting with no reſiſtance, except from ſome princes of the union, and from one Engliſh regiment of two thouſand four hundred men, commanded by the brave ſir Horace Vere,[x] had, in a little time, reduced the greater part of that principality.

High were now the murmurs and complaints againſt the king's neutrality and unactive diſpoſition. The happineſs and tranquillity of their own country became diſtaſteful to the Engliſh, when they reflected on the grievances and diſtreſſes of their proteſtant brethren in Germany. They conſidered not that their interpoſition in the wars of the continent, though agreeable to religious zeal, could not at that time be juſtified by any ſound maxims of politics; that, however exorbitant the Auſtrian greatneſs, the danger was ſtill too diſtant to give any juſt alarm to England; that mighty reſiſtance would yet be made by ſo many potent and warlike princes and ſtates in Germany, ere they would yield their neck to the yoke; that France, now engaged to contract a double alliance with the Auſtrian family, muſt neceſſarily be ſoon rouſed from her lethargy, and oppoſe the progreſs of ſo hated a rival; that, in the farther advance of conqueſts, even the intereſts of the two branches of that ambitious family muſt interfere, and beget mutual jealouſy and oppoſition; that a land war, carried on at ſuch a diſtance, would waſte the blood and trea-

ſure of the Engliſh nation without any hopes of ſucceſs; that a ſea war, indeed, might be both ſafe and ſucceſsful againſt Spain, but would not affect the enemy in ſuch vital parts as to make them ſtop their career of ſucceſs in Germany, and abandon all their acquiſitions; and that, the proſpect of recovering the Palatinate being at preſent deſperate, the affair was reduced to this ſimple queſtion, Whether peace and commerce with Spain, or the uncertain hopes of plunder and of conqueſt in the Indies, were preferable? A queſtion which, at the beginning of the king's reign, had already been decided, and perhaps with reaſon, in favour of the former advantages.

NEGOCIATIONS WITH SPAIN.

JAMES might have defended his pacific meaſures by ſuch plauſible arguments: but theſe, though the chief, ſeem not to have been the ſole, motives which ſwayed him. He had entertained the notion that, as his own juſtice and moderation had ſhone out ſo conſpicuouſly throughout all theſe tranſactions, the whole houſe of Auſtria, though not awed by the power of England, would willingly, from mere reſpect to his virtue, ſubmit themſelves to ſo equitable an arbitration. He flattered himſelf that, after he had formed an intimate connexion with the Spaniſh monarch by means of his ſon's marriage, the reſtitution of the Palatinate might be procured, from the motive alone of friendſhip and perſonal attachment. He perceived not that his unactive virtue, the more it was extolled, the greater diſregard was it expoſed to. He was not ſenſible that the Spaniſh match was itſelf attended with ſuch difficulties, that all his art of negociation would ſcarcely be able to ſurmount them; much leſs that this match could in good policy be depended on as the means of procuring ſuch extraordinary advantages. His unwarlike diſ-

poſition, increaſed by age, riveted him ſtill faſter in his errors, and determined him to ſeek the reſtoration of his ſon-in-law by remonſtrances and entreaties, by arguments and embaſſies, rather than by blood and violence. And the ſame defect of courage, which held him in awe of foreign nations, made him likewiſe afraid of ſhocking the prejudices of his own ſubjects, and kept him from openly avowing the meaſures which he was determined to purſue. Or perhaps he hoped to turn theſe prejudices to account, and by their means engage his people to furniſh him with ſupplies, of which their exceſſive frugality had hitherto made them ſo ſparing and reſerved.[y]

A PARLIAMENT. 1621.

He firſt tried the expedient of a benevolence or free gift from individuals; pretending the urgency of the caſe, which would not admit of leiſure for any other meaſure. But the jealouſy of liberty was now rouſed, and the nation regarded theſe pretended benevolences as real extortions, contrary to law, and dangerous to freedom, however authorized by ancient precedent. A parliament was found to be the only reſource which could furniſh any large ſupplies; and writs were accordingly iſſued for ſummoning that great council of the nation.[z]

In this parliament there appeared at firſt nothing but duty and ſubmiſſion on the part of the commons; and they ſeemed determined to ſacrifice every thing, in order to maintain a good correſpondence with their prince. They would allow no mention to be made of the new cuſtoms or impoſitions, which had been ſo eagerly diſputed in the former parliament.[a] The impriſonment of the members of that parliament was here, by ſome, complained of; but, by the authority of the graver and more prudent part of the houſe, that grievance was buried in

oblivion.[b] And, being informed that the king had remitted ſeveral conſiderable ſums to the palatine, the commons, without a negative, voted him two ſubſidies;[c] and that too at the very beginning of the ſeſſion, contrary to the maxims frequently adopted by their predeceſſors.

Afterwards they proceeded, but in a very temperate manner, to the examination of grievances. They found that patents had been granted to ſir Giles Mompeſſon and ſir Francis Michel, for licenſing inns and alehouſes; that great ſums of money had been exacted, under pretext of theſe licenſes; and that ſuch innkeepers as preſumed to continue their buſineſs, without ſatisfying the rapacity of the patentees, had been ſeverely puniſhed by fine, impriſonment, and vexatious proſecutions.

The ſame perſons had alſo procured a patent, which they ſhared with ſir Edward Villiers, brother to Buckingham, for the ſole making of gold and ſilver thread and lace, and had obtained very extraordinary powers for preventing any rivalſhip in theſe manufactures: they were armed with authority to ſearch for all goods which might interfere with their patent; and even to puniſh, at their own will and diſcretion, the makers, importers, and venders, of ſuch commodities. Many had grievouſly ſuffered by this exorbitant juriſdiction; and the lace which had been manufactured by the patentees was univerſally found to be adulterated, and to be compoſed more of copper than of the precious metals.

Theſe grievances the commons repreſented to the king; and they met with a very gracious and very cordial reception. He ſeemed even thankful for the information given him; and declared himſelf aſhamed that ſuch abuſes, unknowingly to him, had crept into his adminiſtration. 'I aſſure you,' ſaid he, 'had I before heard theſe things complained of, I would have done the office of a juſt king, and out of parliament have puniſhed

them as ſeverely, and peradventure more,[d] than you now intend to do.' A ſentence was paſſed for the puniſhment of Michel and Mompeſſon.[e] It was executed on the former. The latter broke priſon and eſcaped. Villiers was at that time ſent purpoſely on a foreign employment; and, his guilt being leſs enormous or leſs apparent than that of the others, he was the more eaſily protected by the credit of his brother Buckingham.[f]

BACON'S FALL.

ENCOURAGED by this ſucceſs, the commons carried their ſcrutiny, and ſtill with a reſpectful hand, into other abuſes of importance. The great ſeal was at that time in the hands of the celebrated Bacon, created viſcount St. Albans; a man univerſally admired for the greatneſs of his genius, and beloved for the courteouſneſs and humanity of his behaviour. He was the great ornament of his age and nation; and nought was wanting to render him the ornament of human nature itſelf, but that ſtrength of mind which might check his intemperate deſire of preferment, that could add nothing to his dignity, and might reſtrain his profuſe inclination to expenſe, that could be requiſite neither for his honour nor entertainment. His want of economy, and his indulgence to ſervants, had involved him in neceſſities; and, in order to ſupply his prodigality, he had been tempted to take bribes by the title of preſents, and that in a very open manner, from ſuitors in chancery. It appears that it had been uſual for former chancellors to take preſents; and it is pretended that Bacon, who followed the ſame dangerous practice, had ſtill, in the ſeat of juſtice, preſerved the integrity of a judge, and had given juſt decrees againſt thoſe very perſons from whom he had received the wages of iniquity. Complaints roſe the louder on that account, and at laſt reached the houſe of commons, who

ſent up an impeachment againſt him to the peers. The chancellor, conſcious of guilt, deprecated the vengeance of his judges, and endeavoured, by a general avowal, to eſcape the confuſion of a ſtricter inquiry. The lords inſiſted on a particular confeſſion of all his corruptions. He acknowledged twenty-eight articles; and was ſentenced to pay a fine of forty thouſand pounds, to be impriſoned in the tower during the king's pleaſure, to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment, and never again to ſit in parliament, or come within the verge of the court.

This dreadful ſentence, dreadful to a man of nice ſenſibility to honour, he ſurvived five years; and, being releaſed in a little time from the tower, his genius, yet unbroken, ſupported itſelf amidſt involved circumſtances and a depreſſed ſpirit, and ſhone out in literary productions, which have made his guilt or weakneſſes be forgotten or overlooked by poſterity. In conſideration of his great merit the king remitted his fine, as well as all the other parts of his ſentence, conferred on him a large penſion of eighteen hundred pounds a year, and employed every expedient to alleviate the weight of his age and misfortunes. And that great philoſopher at laſt acknowledged with regret that he had too long neglected the true ambition of a fine genius; and, by plunging into buſineſs and affairs which required much leſs capacity, but greater firmneſs of mind, than the purſuits of learning, had expoſed himſelf to ſuch grievous calamities.[g]

The commons had entertained the idea that they were the great patrons of the people, and that the redreſs of all grievances muſt proceed from them; and to this principle they were chiefly beholden for the regard and conſideration of the public. In the execution of this office they now kept their ears open to complaints of every kind; and they carried their reſearches into many grievances which, though of no great importance,

could not be touched on without ſenſibly affecting the king and his miniſters. The prerogative ſeemed every moment to be invaded; the king's authority in every article was diſputed; and James, who was willing to correct the abuſes of his power, would not ſubmit to have his power itſelf queſtioned and denied. After the houſe, therefore, had ſat near ſix months, and had as yet brought no conſiderable buſineſs to a full concluſion, the king reſolved, under pretence of the advanced ſeaſon, to interrupt their proceedings; and he ſent them word that he was determined, in a little time, to adjourn them till next winter. The commons made application to the lords, and deſired them to join in a petition for delaying the adjournment; which was refuſed by the upper houſe. The king regarded this project of a joint petition as an attempt to force him from his meaſures: he thanked the peers for their refuſal to concur in it, and told them that, if it were their deſire, he would delay the adjournment, but would not ſo far comply with the requeſt of the lower houſe.[h] And thus, in theſe great national affairs, the ſame peeviſhneſs, which in private altercations often raiſes a quarrel from the ſmalleſt beginnings, produced a mutual coldneſs and diſguſt between the king and the commons.

RUPTURE BETWEEN KING AND COMMONS.

During the receſs of parliament the king uſed every meaſure to render himſelf popular with the nation, and to appeaſe the riſing ill humour of their repreſentatives. He had voluntarily offered the parliament to circumſcribe his own prerogative, and to abrogate for the future his power of granting monopolies. He now recalled all the patents of that kind, and redreſſed every article of grievance, to the number of thirty-ſeven, which had ever been complained of in the houſe of commons.[i] But he

gained not the end which he propoſed. The diſguſt, which had appeared at parting, could not ſo ſuddenly be diſpelled. He had likewiſe been ſo imprudent as to commit to priſon ſir Edwin Sandys,[k] without any known cauſe, beſides his activity and vigour in diſcharging his duty as a member of parliament. And, above all, the tranſactions in Germany were ſufficient, when joined to the king's cautions, negociations, and delays, to inflame that jealouſy of honour and religion which prevailed throughout the nation.[l] This ſummer the ban of the empire had been publiſhed againſt the elector palatine, and the execution of it was committed to the duke of Bavaria.[m] The Upper Palatinate was in a little time conquered by that prince; and meaſures were taking in the empire for beſtowing on him the electoral dignity, of which the palatine was deſpoiled. Frederic now lived with his numerous family in poverty and diſtreſs, either in Holland, or at Sedan, with his uncle the duke of Bouillon. And throughout all the new conqueſts, in both the Palatinates, as well as in Bohemia, Auſtria, and Luſatia, the progreſs of the Auſtrian arms was attended with rigours and ſeverities, exerciſed againſt the profeſſors of the reformed religion.

The zeal of the commons immediately moved them, upon their aſſembling, to take all theſe tranſactions into conſideration. They framed a remonſtrance, which they intended to carry to the king. They repreſented that the enormous growth of the Auſtrian power threatened the liberties of Europe; that the progreſs of the catholic religion in England bred the moſt melancholy apprehenſions leſt it ſhould again acquire an aſcendant in the kingdom; that the indulgence of his majeſty towards the profeſſors of that religion had encouraged their inſolence and temerity; that the uncontrolled conqueſts, made by the Auſtrian family in Germany, raiſed mighty expectations in the Engliſh papiſts; but, above all, that the proſpect of the Spaniſh match

elevated them ſo far as to hope for an entire toleration, if not the final re-eſtabliſhment, of their religion. The commons therefore entreated his majeſty that he would immediately undertake the defence of the palatine, and maintain it by force of arms; that he would turn his ſword againſt Spain, whoſe armies and treaſures were the chief ſupport of the catholic intereſt in Europe; that he would enter into no negociation for the marriage of his ſon but with a proteſtant princeſs; that the children of popiſh recuſants ſhould be taken from their parents, and be committed to the care of proteſtant teachers and ſchoolmaſters; and that the fines and confiſcations, to which the catholics were by law liable, ſhould be levied with the utmoſt ſeverity.[n]

By this bold ſtep, unprecedented in England for many years, and ſcarcely ever heard of in peaceable times, the commons attacked at once all the king's favourite maxims of government; his cautious and pacific meaſures, his lenity towards the Romiſh religion, and his attachment to the Spaniſh alliance, from which he promiſed himſelf ſuch mighty advantages. But what moſt diſguſted him was their ſeeming invaſion of his prerogative, and their pretending, under colour of advice, to direct his conduct in ſuch points as had ever been acknowledged to belong ſolely to the management and direction of the ſovereign. He was, at that time, abſent at Newmarket; but, as ſoon as he heard of the intended remonſtrance of the commons, he wrote a letter to the ſpeaker, in which he ſharply rebuked the houſe for openly debating matters far above their reach and capacity; and he ſtrictly forbade them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government, or deep matters of ſtate; and eſpecially not to touch on his ſon's marriage with the daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king, or any other of his friends and confederates. In order the more to intimidate them, he mentioned the impriſonment of ſir Edwin Sandys; and, though he denied

that the confinement of that member had been owing to any offence committed in the houſe, he plainly told them that he thought himſelf fully entitled to puniſh every miſdemeanor in parliament, as well during its ſitting as after its diſſolution; and that he intended thenceforward to chaſtiſe any man, whoſe inſolent behaviour there ſhould miniſter occaſion of offence.[o]

This violent letter, in which the king, though he here imitated former precedents, may be thought not to have acted altogether on the defenſive, had the effect which might naturally have been expected from it: the commons were inflamed, not terrified. Secure of their own popularity, and of the bent of the nation towards a war with the catholics abroad, and the perſecution of popery at home, they little dreaded the menaces of a prince who was unſupported by military force, and whoſe gentle temper would, of itſelf, ſo ſoon diſarm his ſeverity. In a new remonſtrance, therefore, they ſtill inſiſted on their former remonſtrance and advice; and they maintained, though in reſpectful terms, that they were entitled to interpoſe with their counſel in all matters of government; that to poſſeſs entire freedom of ſpeech, in their debates on public buſineſs, was their ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors; and that, if any member abuſed this liberty, it belonged to the houſe alone, who were witneſſes of his offence, to inflict a proper cenſure upon him.[p]

So vigorous an anſwer was no wiſe calculated to appeaſe the king. It is ſaid, when the approach of the committee who were to preſent it was notified to him, he ordered twelve chairs to be brought, for that there were ſo many kings a-coming.[q] His anſwer was prompt and ſharp. He told the houſe that their remonſtrance was more like a denunciation of war than an addreſs of dutiful ſubjects; that their pretenſion to inquire into all ſtate affairs, without exception, was ſuch a plenipotence as none of

their anceſtors, even during the reign of the weakeſt princes, had ever pretended to; that public tranſactions depended on a complication of views and intelligence, with which they were entirely unacquainted; that they could not better ſhew their wiſdom, as well as duty, than by keeping within their proper ſphere;[r] and that, in any buſineſs which depended on his prerogative, they had no title to interpoſe with their advice, except when he was pleaſed to deſire it. And he concluded with theſe memorable words: "And, though we cannot allow of your ſtyle in mentioning your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but would rather have wiſhed that ye had ſaid that your privileges were derived from the grace and permiſſion of our anceſtors and us (for the moſt of them grew from precedents, which ſhews rather a toleration than inheritance); yet we are pleaſed to give you our royal aſſurance that, as long as you contain yourſelves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preſerve your lawful liberties and privileges as ever any of our predeceſſors were,[s] nay, as to preſerve our own royal prerogative."

PROTESTATION OF THE COMMONS.

This open pretenſion of the king's naturally gave great alarm to the houſe of commons. They ſaw their title to every privilege, if not plainly denied, yet conſidered at leaſt as precarious. It might be forfeited by abuſe, and they had already abuſed it. They thought proper, therefore, immediately to oppoſe pretenſion to pretenſion. They framed a proteſtation, in which they repeated all their former claims for freedom of ſpeech, and an unbounded authority to interpoſe with their advice and counſel. And they aſſerted that "the liberties, franchiſes, privileges, and juriſdictions of parliament, are the ancient

and undoubted birthright and inheritance ' of the ſubjects of England."

The king, informed of theſe increaſing heats and jealouſies in the houſe, hurried to town. He ſent immediately for the journals of the commons; and, with his own hand, before the council, he tore out this proteſtation;[u] and ordered his reaſons to be inſerted in the council-book. He was doubly diſpleaſed, he ſaid, with the proteſtation of the lower houſe, on account of the manner of framing it, as well as of the matter which it contained. It was tumultuouſly voted at a late hour, and in a thin houſe; and it was expreſſed in ſuch general and ambiguous terms as might ſerve for a foundation to the moſt enormous claims, and to the moſt unwarrantable uſurpations upon his prerogative.[w]

The meeting of the houſe might have proved dangerous after ſo violent a breach. It was no longer poſſible, while men were in ſuch a temper, to finiſh any buſineſs. The king therefore prorogued the parliament, and ſoon after diſſolved it by proclamation; in which he alſo made an apology to the public for his whole conduct.

The leading members of the houſe, ſir Edward Coke and ſir Robert Philips, were committed to the tower; Selden, Pym, and Mallory, to other priſons.[x] As a lighter puniſhment, ſir Dudley Digges, ſir Thomas Crew, ſir Nathaniel Rich, ſir James Perrot, joined in commiſſion with others, were ſent to Ireland, in order to execute ſome buſineſs.[y] The king at that time enjoyed, at leaſt exerciſed, the prerogative of employing any man, even without his conſent, in any branch of public ſervice.

Sir John Savile, a powerful man in the houſe of commons, and a zealous opponent of the court, was made comptroller of the houſehold, a privy counſellor, and ſoon after a baron.[z] This event is memorable; as being the firſt inſtance, perhaps, in the

whole hiſtory of England, of any king's advancing a man on account of parliamentary intereſt, and of oppoſition to his meaſures. However irregular this practice, it will be regarded by political reaſoners as one of the moſt early and moſt infallible ſymptoms of a regular eſtabliſhed liberty.

The king having thus, with ſo raſh and indiſcreet a hand, torn off that ſacred veil which had hitherto covered the Engliſh conſtitution, and which threw an obſcurity upon it ſo advantageous to royal prerogative, every man began to indulge himſelf in political reaſonings and inquiries; and the ſame factions which commenced in parliament were propagated throughout the nation. In vain did James, by reiterated proclamations, forbid the diſcourſing of ſtate affairs.[a] Such proclamations, if they had any effect, ſerved rather to inflame the curioſity of the public: and, in every company or ſociety, the late tranſactions became the ſubject of argument and debate.

All hiſtory, ſaid the partiſans of the court, as well as the hiſtory of England, juſtify the king's poſition with regard to the origin of popular privileges; and every reaſonable man muſt allow that, as monarchy is the moſt ſimple form of government, it muſt firſt have occurred to rude and uninſtructed mankind. The other complicated and artificial additions were the ſucceſſive invention of ſovereigns and legiſlators; or, if they were obtruded on the prince by ſeditious ſubjects, their origin muſt appear, on that very account, ſtill more precarious and unfavourable. In England the authority of the king, in all the exterior forms of government, and in the common ſtyle of law, appears totally abſolute and ſovereign; nor does the real ſpirit of the conſtitution, as it has ever diſcovered itſelf in practice, fall much ſhort of theſe appearances. The parliament is created by his will; by his will it is diſſolved. It is his will alone, though at the deſire of both houſes, which gives authority to laws. To

all foreign nations the majeſty of the monarch ſeems to merit ſole attention and regard. And no ſubject, who has expoſed himſelf to royal indignation, can hope to live with ſafety in the kingdom; nor can he even leave it, according to law, without the conſent of his maſter. If a magiſtrate, environed with ſuch power and ſplendour, ſhould conſider his authority as ſacred, and regard himſelf as the anointed of heaven, his pretenſions may bear a very favourable conſtruction. Or, allowing them to be merely pious frauds, we need not be ſurpriſed that the ſame ſtratagem which was practiſed by Minos, Numa, and the moſt celebrated legiſlators of antiquity, ſhould now, in theſe reſtleſs and inquiſitive times, be employed by the king of England. Subjects are not raiſed above that quality, though aſſembled in parliament. The ſame humble reſpect and deference is ſtill due to their prince. Though he indulges them in the privilege of laying before him their domeſtic grievances, with which they are ſuppoſed to be beſt acquainted, this warrants not their bold intruſion into every province of government. And, to all judicious examiners, it muſt appear that the lines of duty are as much tranſgreſſed by a more independent and leſs reſpectful exerciſe of acknowledged powers, as by the uſurpation of ſuch as are new and unuſual.

The lovers of liberty, throughout the nation, reaſoned after a different manner. It is in vain, ſaid they, that the king traces up the Engliſh government to its firſt origin, in order to repreſent the privileges of parliament as dependent and precarious: preſcription, and the practice of ſo many ages, muſt, long ere this time, have given a ſanction to theſe aſſemblies, even though they had been derived from an origin no more dignified than that which he aſſigns them. If the written records of the Engliſh nation, as aſſerted, repreſent parliaments to have ariſen from the conſent of monarchs, the principles of human nature, when

we trace government a ſtep higher, muſt ſhew us that monarchs themſelves owe all their authority to the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the people. But in fact, no age can be ſhewn when the Engliſh government was altogether an unmixed monarchy: and, if the privileges of the nation have, at any period, been overpowered by violent irruptions of foreign force or domeſtic uſurpation, the generous ſpirit of the people has ever ſeized the firſt opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing the ancient government and conſtitution. Though in the ſtyle of the laws, and in the uſual forms of adminiſtration, royal authority may be repreſented as ſacred and ſupreme, whatever is eſſential to the exerciſe of ſovereign and legiſlative power muſt ſtill be regarded as equally divine and inviolable: or, if any diſtinction be made in this reſpect, the preference is ſurely due to thoſe national councils, by whoſe interpoſition the exorbitancies of tyrannical power are reſtrained, and that ſacred liberty is preſerved, which heroic ſpirits, in all ages, have deemed more precious than life itſelf. Nor is it ſufficient to ſay that the mild and equitable adminiſtration of James affords little or no occaſion of complaint. How moderate ſoever the exerciſe of his prerogative, how exact ſoever his obſervance of the laws and conſtitution; 'if he founds his authority on arbitrary and dangerous principles, it is requiſite to watch him with the ſame care, and to oppoſe him with the ſame vigour, as if he had indulged himſelf in all the exceſſes of cruelty and tyranny.'

Amidſt theſe diſputes the wiſe and moderate in the nation endeavoured to preſerve, as much as poſſible, an equitable neutrality between the oppoſite parties; and, the more they reflected on the courſe of public affairs, the greater difficulty they found in fixing juſt ſentiments with regard to them. On the one hand, they regarded the very riſe of parties as a happy prognoſtic of the eſtabliſhment of liberty; nor could they ever expect to en-

joy, in a mixed government, ſo invaluable a bleſſing, without ſuffering that inconvenience which, in ſuch governments, has ever attended it: but, when they conſidered, on the other hand, the neceſſary aims and purſuits of both parties, they were ſtruck with apprehenſion of the conſequences, and could diſcover no feaſible plan of accommodation between them. From long practice, the crown was now poſſeſſed of ſo exorbitant a prerogative, that it was not ſufficient for liberty to remain on the defenſive, or endeavour to ſecure the little ground which was left her; it was become neceſſary to carry on an offenſive war, and to circumſcribe, within more narrow, as well as more exact bounds, the authority of the ſovereign. Upon ſuch provocation it could not but happen that the prince, however juſt and moderate, would endeavour to repreſs his opponents; and, as he ſtood upon the very brink of arbitrary power, it was to be feared that he would, haſtily and unknowingly, paſs thoſe limits which were not preciſely marked by the conſtitution. The turbulent government of England, ever fluctuating between privilege and prerogative, would afford a variety of precedents, which might be pleaded on both ſides. In ſuch delicate queſtions the people muſt be divided: the arms of the ſtate were ſtill in their hands: a civil war muſt enſue; a civil war, where no party or both parties would juſtly bear the blame, and where the good and virtuous would ſcarcely know what vows to form; were it not that liberty, ſo neceſſary to the perfection of human ſociety, would be ſufficient to bias their affections towards the ſide of its defenders.

CHAPTER XLIX.

JAMES I.

NEGOCIATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE MARRIAGE AND THE PALATINATE....CHARACTER OF BUCKINGHAM....PRINCE'S JOURNEY TO SPAIN....MARRIAGE TREATY BROKEN....A PARLIAMENT....RETURN OF BRISTOL....RUPTURE WITH SPAIN....TREATY WITH FRANCE....MANSFELDT'S EXPEDITION....DEATH OF THE KING....HIS CHARACTER.

NEGOCIATIONS OF THE MARRIAGE AND PALATINATE. 1622.

To wreſt the Palatinate from the hands of the emperor and the duke of Bavaria muſt always have been regarded as a difficult taſk for the power of England, conducted by ſo unwarlike a prince as James; it was plainly impoſſible while the breach ſubſiſted between him and the commons. The king's negociations, therefore, had they been managed with ever ſo great dexterity, muſt now carry leſs weight with them; and it was eaſy to elude all his applications. When lord Digby, his ambaſſador to the emperor, had deſired a ceſſation of hoſtilities, he was referred to the duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Auſtrian armies. The duke of Bavaria told him that it was entirely ſuperfluous to form any treaty for that purpoſe. 'Hoſtilities are

already ceaſed,' ſaid he; 'and I doubt not but I ſhall be able to prevent their revival, by keeping firm poſſeſſion of the Palatinate,[b] till a final agreement ſhall be concluded between the contending parties.' Notwithſtanding this inſult, James endeavoured to reſume with the emperor a treaty of accommodation; and he opened the negociations at Bruſſels, under the mediation of archduke Albert; and, after his death, which happened about this time, under that of the infanta. When the conferences were entered upon it was found that the powers of theſe princes to determine in the controverſy were not ſufficient or ſatisfactory. Schwartzenbourg, the Imperial miniſter, was expected at London; and it was hoped that he would bring more ample authority: his commiſſion referred entirely to the negociation at Bruſſels. It was not difficult for the king to perceive that his applications were neglected by the emperor; but, as he had no choice of any other expedient, and it ſeemed the intereſt of his ſon-in-law to keep alive his pretenſions, he was ſtill content to follow Ferdinand through all his ſhifts and evaſions. Nor was he entirely diſcouraged, even when the Imperial Diet at Ratiſbon, by the influence or rather authority of the emperor, though contrary to the proteſtation of Saxony, and of all the proteſtant princes and cities, had transferred the electoral dignity from the palatine to the duke of Bavaria.

Meanwhile the efforts made by Frederic, for the recovery of his dominions, were vigorous. Three armies were levied in Germany by his authority under three commanders, duke Chriſtian of Brunſwick, the prince of Baden-Dourlach, and count Mansfeldt. The two former generals were defeated by count Tilly and the Imperialiſts; the third, though much inferior in force to his enemies, ſtill maintained the war, but with no equal ſupplies of money either from the palatine or the king of England. It was chiefly by pillage and free quarters in the Palatinate that

he ſubſiſted his army. As the Auſtrians were regularly paid, they were kept in more exact diſcipline; and James juſtly became apprehenſive left ſo unequal a conteſt, beſides ravaging the palatine's hereditary dominions, would end in the total alienation of the people's affections from their ancient ſovereign, by whom they were plundered, and in an attachment to their new maſters, by whom they were protected.[c] He therefore perſuaded his ſon-in-law to diſarm, under colour of duty and ſubmiſſion to the emperor; and accordingly Mansfeldt was diſmiſſed from the palatine's ſervice; and that famous general withdrew his army into the Low Countries, and there received a commiſſion from the States of the United Provinces.

To ſhew how little account was made of James's negociations abroad, there is a pleaſantry mentioned by all hiſtorians, which, for that reaſon, ſhall have place here. In a farce, acted at Bruſſels, a courier was introduced carrying the doleful news that the Palatinate would ſoon be wreſted from the houſe of Auſtria; ſo powerful were the ſuccours which, from all quarters, were haſtening to the relief of the deſpoiled elector: the king of Denmark had agreed to contribute to his aſſiſtance a hundred thouſand pickled herrings, the Dutch a hundred thouſand butter-boxes, and the king of England a hundred thouſand ambaſſadors. On other occaſions he was painted with a ſcabbard, but without a ſword; or with a ſword which nobody could draw, though ſeveral were pulling at it.[d]

It was not from his negociations with the emperor, or the duke of Bavaria, that James expected any ſucceſs in his project of reſtoring the palatine; his eyes were entirely turned towards Spain; and, if he could effect his ſon's marriage with the infanta, he doubted not but that, after ſo intimate a conjunction, this other point could eaſily be obtained. The negociations of that court being commonly dilatory, it was not eaſy for a prince of

ſo little penetration in buſineſs to diſtinguiſh whether the difficulties which occurred were real or affected; and he was ſurpriſed, after negociating five years on ſo ſimple a demand, that he was not more advanced than at the beginning. A diſpenſation from Rome was requiſite for the marriage of the infanta with a proteſtant prince; and the king of Spain, having undertaken to procure that diſpenſation, had thereby acquired the means of retarding at pleaſure, or of forwarding, the marriage, and at the ſame time of concealing entirely his artifices from the court of England.

In order to remove all obſtacles, James diſpatched Digby, ſoon after created earl of Briſtol, as his ambaſſador to Philip IV, who had lately ſucceeded his father in the crown of Spain. He ſecretly employed Gage as his agent at Rome; and, finding that the difference of religion was the principal, if not the ſole, difficulty which retarded the marriage, he reſolved to ſoften that objection as much as poſſible. He iſſued public orders for diſcharging all popiſh recuſants who were impriſoned; and it was daily apprehended that he would forbid, for the future, the execution of the penal laws enacted againſt them. For this ſtep, ſo oppoſite to the rigid ſpirit of his ſubjects, he took care to apologize; and he even endeavoured to aſcribe it to his great zeal for the reformed religion. He had been making applications, he ſaid, to all foreign princes for ſome indulgence to the diſtreſſed proteſtants; and he was ſtill anſwered by objections derived from the ſeverity of the Engliſh laws [e] againſt catholics. It might indeed occur to him that, if the extremity of religious zeal were ever to abate among Chriſtian ſects, one of them muſt begin; and nothing would be more honourable for England than to have led the way in ſentiments ſo wiſe and moderate.

Not only the religious puritans murmured at this tolerating meaſure of the king; the lovers of civil liberty were alarmed at

ſo important an exertion of prerogative. But, among other dangerous articles of authority, the kings of England were at that time poſſeſſed of the diſpenſing power; at leaſt were in the conſtant practice of exerciſing it. Beſides, though the royal prerogative in civil matters was then extenſive, the princes, during ſome late reigns, had been accuſtomed to aſſume a ſtill greater in eccleſiaſtical: and the king failed not to repreſent the toleration of catholics as a meaſure entirely of that nature.

By James's conceſſion in favour of the catholics he attained his end. The ſame religious motives, which had hitherto rendered the court of Madrid inſincere in all the ſteps taken with regard to the marriage, were now the chief cauſe of promoting it. By its means it was there hoped the Engliſh catholics would for the future enjoy eaſe and indulgence; and the infanta would be the happy inſtrument of procuring to the church ſome tranquillity, after the many ſevere perſecutions which it had hitherto undergone. The earl of Briſtol, a miniſter of vigilance and penetration, and who had formerly oppoſed all alliance with catholics,[f] was now fully convinced of the ſincerity of Spain; and he was ready to congratulate the king on the entire completion of his views and projects.[g] A daughter of Spain, whom he repreſents as extremely accompliſhed, would ſoon, he ſaid, arrive in England, and bring with her an immenſe fortune of two millions of pieces of eight, or ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; a ſum four times greater than Spain had ever before given with any princeſs, and almoſt equal to all the money which the parliament, during the whole courſe of this reign, had hitherto granted to the king. But, what was of more importance to James's honour and happineſs, Briſtol conſidered this match as an infallible prognoſtic of the palatine's reſtoration; nor would Philip, he thought, have ever beſtowed his ſiſter and ſo large a fortune under the proſpect of entering next day into a war with

England. So exact was his intelligence, that the moſt ſecret councils of the Spaniards,[h] he boaſts, had never eſcaped him; and he found that they had all along conſidered the marriage of the infanta and the reſtitution of the Palatinate as meaſures cloſely connected, or altogether inſeparable.[i] However little calculated James's character to extort ſo vaſt a conceſſion; however improper the meaſures which he had purſued for attaining that end, the ambaſſador could not withſtand the plain evidence of facts, by which Philip now demonſtrated his ſincerity. Perhaps too, like a wiſe man, he conſidered that reaſons of ſtate, which are ſuppoſed ſolely to influence the councils of monarchs, are not always the motives which there predominate; that the milder views of gratitude, honour, friendſhip, generoſity, are frequently able, among princes as well as private perſons, to counterbalance theſe ſelfiſh conſiderations; that the juſtice and moderation of James had been ſo conſpicuous in all theſe tranſactions, his reliance on Spain, his confidence in her friendſhip, that he had at laſt obtained the cordial alliance of that nation, ſo celebrated for honour and fidelity: or, if politics muſt ſtill be ſuppoſed the ruling motive of all public meaſures, the maritime power of England was ſo conſiderable, and the Spaniſh dominions ſo divided, as might well induce the council of Philip to think that a ſincere friendſhip with the maſters of the ſea could not be purchaſed by too great conceſſions.[k] And, as James, during ſo many years, had been allured and ſeduced by hopes and proteſtations, his people enraged by delays and diſappointments, it would probably occur that there was now no medium left, between the moſt inveterate hatred and the moſt intimate alliance between the nations. Not to mention that, as a new ſpirit began about this time to animate the councils of France, the friendſhip of England became every day more neceſſary to the greatneſs and ſecurity of the Spaniſh monarch.

All meaſures being, therefore, agreed on between the parties, nought was wanting but the diſpenſation from Rome, which might be conſidered as a mere formality.[1] The king, juſtified by ſucceſs, now exulted in his pacific counſels, and boaſted of his ſuperior ſagacity and penetration; when all theſe flattering proſpects were blaſted by the temerity of a man, whom he had fondly exalted from a private condition to be the bane of himſelf, of his family, and of his people.

CHARACTER OF BUCKINGHAM.

Ever ſince the fall of Somerſet, Buckingham had governed, with an uncontrolled ſway, both the court and nation; and, could James's eyes have been opened, he had now full opportunity of obſerving how unfit his favourite was for the high ſtation to which he was raiſed. Some accompliſhments of a courtier he poſſeſſed; of every talent of a miniſter he was utterly deſtitute. Headſtrong in his paſſions, and incapable equally of prudence and of diſſimulation; ſincere from violence rather than candour; expenſive from profuſion more than generoſity; a warm friend, a furious enemy; but without any choice or diſcernment in either: with theſe qualities he had early and quickly mounted to the higheſt rank; and partook at once of the inſolence which attends a fortune newly acquired, and the impetuoſity which belongs to perſons born in high ſtations, and unacquainted with oppoſition.

Among thoſe who had experienced the arrogance of this overgrown favourite the prince of Wales himſelf had not been entirely ſpared; and a great coldneſs, if not an enmity, had for that reaſon taken place between them. Buckingham, deſirous of an opportunity which might connect him with the prince and overcome his averſion, and at the ſame time envious of the great credit acquired by Briſtol in the Spaniſh negociation, be-

thought himſelf of an expedient by which he might at once gratify both theſe inclinations. He repreſented to Charles that perſons of his exalted ſtation were peculiarly unfortunate in their marriage, the chief circumſtance in life; and commonly received into their arms a bride, unknown to them, to whom they were unknown; not endeared by ſympathy, not obliged by ſervice; wooed by treaties alone, by negociations, by political intereſt: that, however accompliſhed the infanta, ſhe muſt ſtill conſider herſelf as a melancholy victim of ſtate, and could not but think with averſion of that day when ſhe was to enter the bed of a ſtranger, and, paſſing into a foreign country and a new family, bid adieu for ever to her father's houſe and to her native land: that it was in the prince's power to ſoften all theſe rigours, and lay ſuch an obligation on her as would attach the moſt indifferent temper, as would warm the coldeſt affections: that his journey to Madrid would be an unexpected gallantry, which would equal all the fictions of Spaniſh romance, and, ſuiting the amorous and enterpriſing character of that nation, muſt immediately introduce him to the princeſs under the agreeable character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer: that the negociations with regard to the Palatinate, which had hitherto languiſhed in the hands of miniſters, would quickly be terminated by ſo illuſtrious an agent, ſeconded by the mediation and entreaties of the grateful infanta: that Spaniſh generoſity, moved by that unexampled truſt and confidence, would make conceſſions beyond what could be expected from political views and conſiderations: and that he would quickly return to the king with the glory of having re-eſtabliſhed the unhappy palatine, by the ſame enterpriſe which procured him the affections and the perſon of the Spaniſh princeſs.[m]

The mind of the young prince, replete with candour, was inflamed by theſe generous and romantic ideas, ſuggeſted by

Buckingham. He agreed to make application to the king for his approbation. They choſe the moment of his kindeſt and moſt jovial humour; and, more by the earneſtneſs which they expreſſed than by the force of their reaſons, they obtained a haſty and unguarded conſent to their undertaking: and, having engaged his promiſe to keep their purpoſe ſecret, they left him, in order to make preparations for the journey.

No ſooner was the king alone than his temper, more cautious than ſanguine, ſuggeſted very different views of the matter, and repreſented every difficulty and danger which could occur. He reflected that, however the world might pardon this ſally of youth in the prince, they would never forgive himſelf, who, at his years, and after his experience, could intruſt his only ſon, the heir of his crown, the prop of his age, to the diſcretion of foreigners, without ſo much as providing the frail ſecurity of a ſafe conduct in his favour: that, if the Spaniſh monarch were ſincere in his profeſſions, a few months muſt finiſh the treaty of marriage, and bring the infanta into England; if he were not ſincere, the folly was ſtill more egregious of committing the prince into his hands: that Philip, when poſſeſſed of ſo invaluable a pledge, might well riſe in his demands, and impoſe harder conditions of treaty: and that the temerity of the enterpriſe was ſo apparent, that the event, how proſperous ſoever, could not juſtify it; and, if diſaſtrous, it would render himſelf infamous to his people and ridiculous to all poſterity.[n]

Tormented with theſe reflections, as ſoon as the prince and Buckingham returned for their diſpatches, he informed them of all the reaſons which had determined him to change his reſolution; and he begged them to deſiſt from ſo fooliſh an adventure. The prince received the diſappointment with ſorrowful ſubmiſſion and ſilent tears; Buckingham preſumed to ſpeak in an imperious tone, which he had ever experienced to be prevalent

over his too eaſy maſter. He told the king that nobody for the future would believe any thing he ſaid, when he retracted ſo ſoon the promiſe ſo ſolemnly given; that he plainly diſcerned this change of reſolution to proceed from another breach of his word, in communicating the matter to ſome raſcal, who had furniſhed him with thoſe pitiful reaſons which he had alledged; and he doubted not but he ſhould hereafter know who his counſellor had been; and that, if he receded from what he had promiſed, it would be ſuch a diſobligation to the prince, who had now ſet his heart upon the journey after his majeſty's approbation, that he could never forget it, nor forgive any man who had been the cauſe of it.°

The king, with great earneſtneſs, fortified by many oaths, made his apology, by denying that he had communicated the matter to any; and, finding himſelf aſſailed, as well by the boiſterous importunities of Buckingham as by the warm entreaties of his ſon, whoſe applications had hitherto, on other occaſions, been always dutiful, never earneſt, he had again the weakneſs to aſſent to their purpoſed journey. It was agreed that ſir Francis Cottington alone, the prince's ſecretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, ſhould accompany them; and the former, being at that time in the ante-chamber, he was immediately called in by the king's orders.

James told Cottington that he had always been an honeſt man, and therefore he was now to truſt him in an affair of the higheſt importance, which he was not, upon his life, to diſcloſe to any man whatever. 'Cottington,' added he, 'here is baby Charles and Stenny,' (theſe ridiculous appellations he uſually gave to the prince and Buckingham) 'who have a great mind to go poſt into Spain, and fetch home the infanta: they will have but two more in their company, and have choſen you for one. What think you of the journey?' Sir Francis, who was a prudent man, and had

SIR GEORGE COKE
LORD LITTLETON
SERJT COTTINGTON
LORD FINCH
SIR EDWARD HERBERT
SIR JOHN VAUGHAN
SIR MATTHEW HALE
SERJT MAYNARD
LORD GUILFORD

reſided ſome years in Spain as the king's agent, was ſtruck with all the obvious objections to ſuch an enterpriſe, and ſcrupled not to declare them. The king threw himſelf upon his bed, and cried, 'I told you this before;' and fell into a new paſſion and new lamentations, complaining that he was undone, and ſhould loſe baby Charles.

The prince ſhewed by his countenance that he was extremely diſſatisfied with Cottington's diſcourſe; but Buckingham broke into an open paſſion againſt him. The king, he told him, aſked him only of the journey, and of the manner of travelling; particulars of which he might be a competent judge, having gone the road ſo often by poſt; but that he, without being called to it, had the preſumption to give his advice upon matters of ſtate and againſt his maſter, which he ſhould repent as long as he lived. A thouſand other reproaches he added, which put the poor king into a new agony in behalf of a ſervant who, he foreſaw, would ſuffer for anſwering him honeſtly. Upon which he ſaid, with ſome emotion, 'Nay, by God, Stenny, you are much to blame for uſing him ſo: he anſwered me directly to the queſtion which I aſked him, and very honeſtly and wiſely; and yet you know he ſaid no more than I told you before he was called in.' However, after all this paſſion on both ſides, James renewed his conſent; and proper directions were given for the journey. Nor was he now at any loſs to diſcover that the whole intrigue was originally contrived by Buckingham, as well as purſued violently by his ſpirit and impetuoſity.

Theſe circumſtances, which ſo well characteriſe the perſons, ſeem to have been related by Cottington to lord Clarendon, from whom they are here tranſcribed; and, though minute, are not undeſerving of a place in hiſtory.

THE PRINCE'S JOURNEY TO SPAIN. 1623.

THE prince and Buckingham, with their two attendants, and ſir Richard Graham, maſter of horſe to Buckingham, paſſed diſguiſed and undiſcovered through France; and they even ventured into a court-ball at Paris, where Charles ſaw the princeſs Henrietta, whom he afterwards eſpouſed, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure from London they arrived at Madrid, and ſurpriſed every body by a ſtep ſo unuſual among great princes. The Spaniſh monarch immediately paid Charles a viſit, expreſſed the utmoſt gratitude for the confidence repoſed in him, and made warm proteſtations of a correſpondent confidence and friendſhip. By the moſt ſtudious civilities he ſhewed the reſpect which he bore to his royal gueſt. He gave him a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have acceſs to him at all hours: he took the left hand of him on every occaſion, except in the apartments aſſigned to Charles; for there, he ſaid, the prince was at home. Charles was introduced into the palace with the ſame pomp and ceremony that attends the kings of Spain on their coronation: the council received public orders to obey him as the king himſelf: Olivarez too, though a grandee of Spain, who has the right of being covered before his own king, would not put on his hat in the prince's preſence:[p] all the priſons of Spain were thrown open, and all the priſoners received their freedom, as if the event, the moſt honourable and moſt fortunate, had happened to the monarchy:[q] and every ſumptuary law with regard to apparel was ſuſpended during Charles's reſidence in Spain. The infanta, however, was only ſhewn to her lover in public; the Spaniſh ideas of decency being ſo ſtrict as not

to allow of any farther intercourſe till the arrival of the diſpenſation.[r]

The point of honour was carried ſo far by that generous people, that no attempt was made, on account of the advantage which they had acquired, of impoſing any harder conditions of treaty: their pious zeal only prompted them, on one occaſion, to deſire more conceſſions in the religious articles; but, upon the oppoſition of Briſtol, accompanied with ſome reproaches, they immediately deſiſted. The pope, however, hearing of the prince's arrival in Madrid, tacked ſome new clauſes to the diſpenſation;[s] and it became neceſſary to tranſmit the articles to London, that the king might ratify them. This treaty, which was made public, conſiſted of ſeveral articles, chiefly regarding the exerciſe of the catholic religion by the infanta and her houſehold. Nothing could reaſonably be found fault with, except one article, in which the king promiſed that the children ſhould be educated by the princeſs till ten years of age. This condition could not be inſiſted on but with a view of ſeaſoning their minds with catholic principles; and, though ſo tender an age ſeemed a ſufficient ſecurity againſt theological prejudices, yet the ſame reaſon which made the pope inſert that article ſhould have induced the king to reject it.

Beſides the public treaty, there were ſeparate articles, privately ſworn to by the king; in which he promiſed to ſuſpend the penal laws enacted againſt catholics, to procure a repeal of them in parliament, and to grant a toleration for the exerciſe of the catholic religion in private houſes.[t] Great murmurs, we may believe, would have ariſen againſt theſe articles, had they been made known to the public; ſince we find it to have been imputed as an enormous crime to the prince, that, having received about this time a very civil letter from the pope, he was induced to return a very civil anſwer.[u]

Meanwhile Gregory XV, who granted the diſpenſation, died, and Urban VIII was choſen in his place. Upon this event the nuncio refuſed to deliver the diſpenſation till it ſhould be renewed by Urban; and that crafty pontiff delayed ſending a new diſpenſation, in hopes that, during the prince's reſidence in Spain, ſome expedient might be fallen upon to effect his converſion. The king of England, as well as the prince, became impatient. On the firſt hint Charles obtained permiſſion to return; and Philip graced his departure with all the circumſtances of elaborate civility and reſpect, which had attended his reception. He even erected a pillar on the ſpot where they took leave of each other, as a monument of mutual friendſhip; and the prince, having ſworn to the obſervance of all the articles, entered on his journey, and embarked on board the Engliſh fleet at St. Andero.

The character of Charles, compoſed of decency, reſerve, modeſty, ſobriety; virtues ſo agreeable to the manners of the Spaniards; the unparalleled confidence which he had repoſed in their nation; the romantic gallantry which he had practiſed towards their princeſs; all theſe circumſtances, joined to his youth and advantageous figure, had endeared him to the whole court of Madrid,[x] and had impreſſed the moſt favourable ideas of him. But, in the ſame proportion that the prince was beloved and eſteemed, was Buckingham deſpiſed and hated. His behaviour, compoſed of Engliſh familiarity and French vivacity; his ſallies of paſſion, his indecent freedoms with the prince, his diſſolute pleaſures, his arrogant, impetuous temper, which he neither could nor cared to diſguiſe; qualities like theſe could, moſt of them, be eſteemed no where, but to the Spaniards were the objects of peculiar averſion.[y] They could not conceal their ſurpriſe that ſuch a youth could intrude into a negociation, now conducted to a period by ſo accompliſhed a miniſter as Briſtol, and

could aſſume to himſelf all the merit of it. They lamented the infanta's fate, who muſt be approached by a man whoſe temerity ſeemed to reſpect no laws, divine or human.[z] And, when they obſerved that he had the imprudence to inſult the Conde duke of Olivarez, their prime miniſter, every one, who was ambitious of paying court to the Spaniſh, became deſirous of ſhewing a contempt for the Engliſh, favourite.

The duke of Buckingham told Olivarez that his own attachment to the Spaniſh nation, and to the king of Spain, was extreme; that he would contribute to every meaſure which could cement the friendſhip between England and them; and that his peculiar ambition would be to facilitate the prince's marriage with the infanta. 'But,' he added, with a ſincerity equally inſolent and indiſcreet, 'with regard to you, ſir, in particular, you muſt not conſider me as your friend, but muſt ever expect from me all poſſible enmity and oppoſition.' The Conde duke replied, with a becoming dignity, that he very willingly accepted of what was proffered him; and on theſe terms the favourites parted.[a]

Buckingham, ſenſible how odious he was become to the Spaniards, and dreading the influence which that nation would naturally acquire after the arrival of the infanta, reſolved to employ all his credit in order to prevent the marriage. By what arguments he could engage the prince to offer ſuch an inſult to the Spaniſh nation, from whom he had met with ſuch generous treatment; by what colours he could diſguiſe the ingratitude and imprudence of ſuch a meaſure; theſe are totally unknown to us. We may only conjecture that the many unavoidable cauſes of delay, which had ſo long prevented the arrival of the diſpenſation, had afforded to Buckingham a pretence for throwing on the Spaniards the imputation of inſincerity in the whole treaty. It alſo appears that his impetuous and domineering character had acquired, what it ever after maintained, a total aſcendant

over the gentle and modeſt temper of Charles; and, when the prince left Madrid, he was firmly determined, notwithſtanding all his profeſſions, to break off the treaty with Spain.

It is not likely that Buckingham prevailed ſo eaſily with James to abandon a project, which, during ſo many years, had been the object of all his wiſhes, and which he had now unexpectedly conducted to a happy period.[b] A rupture with Spain, the loſs of two millions, were proſpects little agreeable to this pacific and indigent monarch. But, finding his only ſon bent againſt a match which had always been oppoſed by his people and his parliament, he yielded to the difficulties which he had not courage or ſtrength of mind ſufficient to overcome. The prince, therefore, and Buckingham, on their arrival at London, aſſumed entirely the direction of the negociation; and it was their buſineſs to ſeek for pretences, by which they could give a colour to their intended breach of treaty.

Though the reſtitution of the Palatinate had ever been conſidered by James as a natural or neceſſary conſequence of the Spaniſh alliance, he had always forbidden his miniſters to inſiſt on it as a preliminary article to the concluſion of the marriage treaty. He conſidered that this principality was now in the hands of the emperor and the duke of Bavaria; and that it was no longer in the king of Spain's power, by a ſingle ſtroke of his pen, to reſtore it to its ancient maſter. The ſtrict alliance of Spain with theſe princes would engage Philip, he thought, to ſoften ſo diſagreeable a demand by every art of negociation; and many articles muſt of neceſſity be adjuſted before ſuch an important point could be effected. It was ſufficient, in James's opinion, if the ſincerity of the Spaniſh court could, for the preſent, be aſcertained; and, dreading farther delays of the marriage, ſo long wiſhed for, he was reſolved to truſt the palatine's full reſtoration to the event of future counſels and deliberations.[c]

MARRIAGE TREATY BROKEN.

This whole ſyſtem of negociation Buckingham now reverſed; and he overturned every ſuppoſition upon which the treaty had hitherto been conducted. After many fruitleſs artifices were employed to delay or prevent the eſpouſals, Briſtol received poſitive orders not to deliver the proxy, which had been left in his hands, or to finiſh the marriage, till ſecurity was given for the full reſtitution of the Palatinate.[d] Philip underſtood this language. He had been acquainted with the diſguſt received by Buckingham; and, deeming him a man capable of ſacrificing to his own ungovernable paſſions the greateſt intereſts of his maſter and of his country, he had expected that the unbounded credit of that favourite would be employed to embroil the two nations. Determined, however, to throw the blame of the rupture entirely on the Engliſh, he delivered into Briſtol's hand a written promiſe, by which he bound himſelf to procure the reſtoration of the Palatinate, either by perſuaſion or by every other poſſible means; and, when he found that this conceſſion gave no ſatisfaction, he ordered the infanta to lay aſide the title of princeſs of Wales, which ſhe bore after the arrival of the diſpenſation from Rome, and to drop the ſtudy of the Engliſh language:[e] and, thinking that ſuch raſh counſels as now governed the court of England would not ſtop at the breach of the marriage treaty, he ordered preparations for war immediately to be made throughout all his dominions.[f]

Thus James, having, by means inexplicable from the ordinary rules of politics, conducted ſo near an honourable period the marriage of his ſon, and the reſtoration of his ſon-in-law, failed at laſt of his purpoſe by means equally unaccountable.

But, though the expedients already uſed by Buckingham were ſufficiently inglorious both for himſelf and for the nation, it was

neceſſary for him, ere he could fully effect his purpoſe, to employ artifices ſtill more diſhonourable.

A PARLIAMENT. 1624.

THE king, having broken with Spain, was obliged to concert new meaſures; and, without the aſſiſtance of parliament, no effectual ſtep of any kind could be taken. The benevolence, which during the interval had been rigorouſly exacted for recovering the Palatinate, though levied for ſo popular an end, had procured to the king leſs money than ill-will [g] from his ſubjects. Whatever diſcouragements, therefore, he might receive from his ill agreement with former parliaments, there was a neceſſity of ſummoning once more this aſſembly: and it might be hoped that, the Spaniſh alliance, which gave ſuch umbrage, being abandoned, the commons would now be better ſatisfied with the king's adminiſtration. In his ſpeech to the houſes James dropped ſome hints of his cauſes of complaint againſt Spain; and he graciouſly condeſcended to aſk the advice of parliament, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of ſo important an affair as his ſon's marriage. Buckingham delivered, to a committee of lords and commons, a long narrative, which he pretended to be true and complete, of every ſtep taken in the negociations with Philip: but, partly by the ſuppreſſion of ſome facts, partly by the falſe colouring laid on others, this narrative was calculated entirely to miſlead the parliament, and to throw on the court of Spain the reproach of artifice and inſincerity. He ſaid that, after many years negociation, the king found not himſelf any nearer his purpoſe; and that Briſtol had never brought the treaty beyond general profeſſions and declarations: that the prince, doubting the good intentions of Spain, reſolved at laſt to take a journey to Madrid, and put the matter

to the utmoſt trial: that he there found ſuch artificial dealing as made him conclude all the ſteps taken towards the marriage to be falſe and deceitful: that the reſtitution of the Palatinate, which had ever been regarded by the king as an eſſential preliminary, was not ſeriouſly intended by Spain: and that, after enduring much bad uſage, the prince was obliged to return to England, without any hopes either of obtaining the infanta or of reſtoring the elector palatine.[h]

This narrative, which, conſidering the importance of the occaſion and the ſolemnity of that aſſembly to which it was delivered, deſerves great blame, was yet vouched for truth by the prince of Wales, who was preſent; and the king himſelf lent it, indirectly, his authority, by telling the parliament that it was by his orders Buckingham laid the whole affair before them. The conduct of theſe princes it is difficult fully to excuſe. It is in vain to plead the youth and inexperience of Charles; unleſs his inexperience and youth, as is probable,[i] if not certain, really led him into error, and made him ſwallow all the falſities of Buckingham. And, though the king was here hurried from his own meaſures by the impetuoſity of others, nothing ſhould have induced him to proſtitute his character, and ſeem to vouch the impoſtures, at leaſt falſe colourings, of his favourite, of which he had ſo good reaſon to entertain a ſuſpicion.[k]

Buckingham's narrative, however artfully diſguiſed, contained ſo many contradictory circumſtances as were ſufficient to open the eyes of all reaſonable men; but it concurred ſo well with the paſſions and prejudices of the parliament, that no ſcruple was made of immediately adopting it.[l] Charmed with having obtained at length the opportunity, ſo long wiſhed for, of going to war with papiſts, they little thought of future conſequences; but immediately adviſed the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage as that for the

reſtitution of the Palatinate.[m] The people, ever greedy of war till they ſuffer by it, diſplayed their triumph at theſe violent meaſures by public bonfires and rejoicings, and by inſults on the Spaniſh miniſters. Buckingham was now the favourite of the public, and of the parliament. Sir Edward Coke, in the houſe of commons, called him the ſaviour of the nation.[n] Every place reſounded with his praiſes. And he himſelf, intoxicated by a popularity which he enjoyed ſo little time, and which he ſo ill deſerved, violated all duty to his indulgent maſter, and entered into cabals with the puritanical members, who had ever oppoſed the royal authority. He even encouraged ſchemes for aboliſhing the order of biſhops, and ſelling the dean and chapter lands, in order to defray the expenſes of a Spaniſh war. And the king, though he ſtill entertained projects for temporizing, and for forming an accommodation with Spain, was ſo born down by the torrent of popular prejudices, conducted and increaſed by Buckingham, that he was at laſt obliged, in a ſpeech to parliament, to declare in favour of hoſtile meaſures, if they would engage to ſupport him.[o] Doubts of their ſincerity in this reſpect (doubts which the event ſhewed not to be ill-grounded) had probably been one cauſe of his former pacific and dilatory meaſures.

In his ſpeech on this occaſion the king began with lamenting his own unhappineſs, that, having ſo long valued himſelf on the epithet of the pacific monarch, he ſhould now, in his old age, be obliged to exchange the bleſſings of peace for the inevitable calamities of war. He repreſented to them the immenſe and continued expenſe requiſite for military armaments; and, beſides ſupplies from time to time, as they ſhould become neceſſary, he demanded a vote of ſix ſubſidies and twelve fifteenths, as a proper ſtock before the commencement of hoſtilities. He told them of his intolerable debts, chiefly contracted by the ſums remitted

to the Palatinate;[p] but he added, that he did not inſiſt on any ſupply for his own relief, and that it was ſufficient for him if the honour and ſecurity of the public were provided for. To remove all ſuſpicion, he, who had ever ſtrenuouſly maintained his prerogative, and who had even extended it into ſome points eſteemed doubtful, now made an imprudent conceſſion, of which the conſequences might have proved fatal to royal authority: he voluntarily offered that the money voted ſhould be paid to a committee of parliament, and ſhould be iſſued by them, without being intruſted to his management.[q] The commons willingly accepted of this conceſſion, ſo unuſual in an Engliſh monarch; they voted him only three ſubſidies and three fifteenths;[r] and they took no notice of the complaints which he made of his own wants and neceſſities.

Advantage was alſo taken of the preſent good agreement between the king and parliament, in order to paſs the bill againſt monopolies, which had formerly been encouraged by the king, but which had failed by the rupture between him and the laſt houſe of commons. This bill was conceived in ſuch terms as to render it merely declaratory; and all monopolies were condemned as contrary to law and to the known liberties of the people. It was there ſuppoſed that every ſubject of England had entire power to diſpoſe of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow ſubjects; and that no prerogative of the king, no power of any magiſtrate, nothing but the authority alone of laws, could reſtrain that unlimited freedom. The full proſecution of this noble principle into all its natural conſequences has at laſt, through many conteſts, produced that ſingular and happy government which we enjoy at preſent.[s]

The houſe of commons alſo corroborated, by a new precedent, the important power of impeachment, which two years before they had exerciſed in the caſe of chancellor Bacon, and

which had lain dormant for near two centuries, except when they ſerved as inſtruments of royal vengeance. The earl of Middleſex had been raiſed, by Buckingham's intereſt, from the rank of a London merchant, to be treaſurer of England; and, by his activity and addreſs, ſeemed not unworthy of that preferment: but, as he incurred the diſpleaſure of his patron, by ſcrupling or refuſing ſome demands of money during the prince's reſidence in Spain, that favourite vowed revenge, and employed all his credit among the commons to procure an impeachment of the treaſurer. The king was extremely diſſatisfied with this meaſure, and propheſied, to the prince and duke, that they would live to have their fill of parliamentary proſecutions.[t] In a ſpeech to the parliament he endeavoured to apologize for Middleſex, and to ſoften the accuſation againſt him.[u] The charge, however, was ſtill maintained by the commons; and the treaſurer was found guilty by the peers, though the miſdemeanors proved againſt him were neither numerous nor important. The accepting of two preſents, of five hundred pounds each, for paſſing two patents, was the article of greateſt weight. His ſentence was, to be fined fifty thouſand pounds for the king's uſe, and to ſuffer all the other penalties formerly inflicted upon Bacon. The fine was afterwards remitted by the prince when he mounted the throne.

This ſeſſion an addreſs was alſo made very diſagreeable to the king, craving the ſevere execution of the laws againſt catholics. His anſwer was gracious and condeſcending;[x] though he declared againſt perſecution, as being an improper meaſure for the ſuppreſſion of any religion, according to the received maxim, that the blood of the martyrs was the ſeed of the church. He alſo condemned an entire indulgence of the catholics; and ſeemed to repreſent a middle courſe as the moſt humane and moſt politic. He went ſo far as even to affirm, with an oath, that he

never had entertained any thoughts of granting a toleration to theſe religioniſts.[y] The liberty of exerciſing their worſhip in private houſes, which he had ſecretly agreed to in the Spaniſh treaty, did not appear to him deſerving that name; and it was probably by means of this explication he thought that he had ſaved his honour. And, as Buckingham, in his narrative,[z] confeſſed that the king had agreed to a temporary ſuſpenſion of the penal laws againſt the catholics, which he diſtinguiſhed from a toleration, a term at that time extremely odious, James naturally deemed his meaning to be ſufficiently explained, and feared not any reproach of falſehood or duplicity on account of this aſſeveration. After all theſe tranſactions the parliament was prorogued by the king, who let fall ſome hints, though in gentle terms, of the ſenſe which he entertained of their unkindneſs in not ſupplying his neceſſities.[a]

James, unable to reſiſt ſo ſtrong a combination as that of his people, his parliament, his ſon, and his favourite, had been compelled to embrace meaſures for which, from temper as well as judgment, he had ever entertained a moſt ſettled averſion. Though he diſſembled his reſentment, he began to eſtrange himſelf from Buckingham, to whom he aſcribed all thoſe violent counſels, and whom he conſidered as the author both of the prince's journey to Spain and of the breach of the marriage treaty. The arrival of Briſtol he impatiently longed for; and it was by the aſſiſtance of that miniſter, whoſe wiſdom he reſpected and whoſe views he approved, that he hoped in time to extricate himſelf from his preſent difficulties.

RETURN OF BRISTOL.

During the prince's abode in Spain that able negociator had ever oppoſed, though unſucceſsfully, to the impetuous meaſures

ſuggeſted by Buckingham, his own wife and well-tempered counſels. After Charles's departure he ſtill, upon the firſt appearance of a change of reſolution, interpoſed his advice, and ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the ſincerity of the Spaniards in the conduct of the treaty, as well as the advantages which England muſt reap from the completion of it. Enraged to find that his ſucceſsful labours ſhould be rendered abortive by the levities and caprices of an inſolent minion, he would underſtand no hints; and nothing but expreſs orders from his maſter could engage him to make that demand which he was ſenſible muſt put a final period to the treaty. He was not therefore ſurpriſed to hear that Buckingham had declared himſelf his open enemy, and on all occaſions had thrown out many violent reflections againſt him.

Nothing could be of greater conſequence to Buckingham than to keep Briſtol at a diſtance both from the king and the parliament; leſt the power of truth, enforced by ſo well-informed a ſpeaker, ſhould open ſcenes which were but ſuſpected by the former, and of which the latter had as yet entertained no manner of jealouſy. He applied therefore to James, whoſe weakneſs, diſguiſed to himſelf under the appearance of fineſſe and diſſimulation, was now become abſolutely incurable. A warrant for ſending Briſtol to the tower was iſſued immediately upon his arrival in England;[b] and, though he was ſoon releaſed from confinement, yet orders were carried him from the king to retire to his country ſeat, and to abſtain from all attendance in parliament. He obeyed; but loudly demanded an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, and of laying his whole conduct before his maſter. On all occaſions he proteſted his innocence, and threw on his enemy the blame of every miſcarriage. Buckingham, and at his inſtigation the prince, declared that they would be reconciled to Briſtol if he would but acknowledge his errors and ill conduct: but the ſpirited nobleman, jealous of his honour, re-

fuſed to buy favour at ſo high a price. James had the equity to ſay that the inſiſting on that condition was a ſtrain of unexampled tyranny: but Buckingham ſcrupled not to aſſert, with his uſual preſumption, that neither the king, the prince, nor himſelf, were as yet ſatisfied of Briſtol's innocence.[c]

While the attachment of the prince to Buckingham, while the timidity of James, or the ſhame of changing his favourite, kept the whole court in awe, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, Inoioſa, endeavoured to open the king's eyes, and to cure his fears, by inſtilling greater fears into him. He privately ſlipped into his hand a paper, and gave him a ſignal to read it alone. He there told him that he was as much a priſoner at London as ever Francis I was at Madrid; that the prince and Buckingham had conſpired together, and had the whole court at their devotion; that cabals among the popular leaders in parliament were carrying on to the extreme prejudice of his authority; that the project was to confine him to ſome of his hunting ſeats, and to commit the whole adminiſtration to Charles; and that it was neceſſary for him, by one vigorous effort, to vindicate his authority, and to puniſh thoſe who had ſo long and ſo much abuſed his friendſhip and beneficence.[d]

RUPTURE WITH SPAIN.

What credit James gave to this repreſentation does not appear. He only diſcovered ſome faint ſymptoms, which he inſtantly retracted, of diſſatisfaction with Buckingham. All his public meaſures, and all the alliances into which he entered, were founded on the ſyſtem of enmity to the Auſtrian family, and of war to be carried on for the recovery of the Palatinate.

The ſtates of the United Provinces were at this time governed by Maurice; and that aſpiring prince, ſenſible that his credit

would languiſh during peace, had, on the expiration of the twelve years' truce, renewed the war with the Spaniſh monarchy. His great capacity in the military art would have compenſated the inferiority of his forces, had not the Spaniſh armies been commanded by Spinola, a general equally renowned for conduct, and more celebrated for enterpriſe and activity. In ſuch a ſituation nothing could be more welcome to the republic than the proſpect of a rupture between James and the catholic king; and they flattered themſelves, as well from the natural union of intereſts between them and England as from the influence of the preſent conjuncture, that powerful ſuccours would ſoon march to their relief. Accordingly an army of ſix thouſand men was levied in England, and ſent over to Holland, commanded by four young noblemen, Eſſex, Oxford, Southampton, and Willoughby, who were ambitious of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in ſo popular a cauſe, and of acquiring military experience under ſo renowned a captain as Maurice.

TREATY WITH FRANCE.

It might reaſonably have been expected that, as religious zeal had made the recovery of the Palatinate appear a point of ſuch vaſt importance in England, the ſame effect might have been produced in France by the force merely of political views and conſiderations. While that principality remained in the hands of the houſe of Auſtria the French dominions were ſurrounded on all ſides by the poſſeſſions of that ambitious family, and might be invaded by ſuperior forces from every quarter. It concerned the king of France, therefore, to prevent the peaceable eſtabliſhment of the emperor in his new conqueſts; and, both by the ſituation and greater power of his ſtate, he was much better enabled than James to give ſuccour to the diſtreſſed palatine.

But, though theſe views eſcaped not Louis, nor cardinal Richlieu, who now began to acquire an aſcendant in the French court, that miniſter was determined to pave the way for his enterpriſes by firſt ſubduing the hugonots, and thence to proceed, by mature counſels, to humble the houſe of Auſtria. The proſpect, however, of a conjunction with England was preſently embraced, and all imaginable encouragement was given to every propoſal for conciliating a marriage between Charles and the princeſs Henrietta.

Notwithſtanding the ſenſible experience, which James might have acquired, of the unſurmountable antipathy entertained by his ſubjects againſt an alliance with catholics, he ſtill perſevered in the opinion that his ſon would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princeſs of leſs than royal extraction. After the rupture, therefore, with Spain, nothing remained but an alliance with France;[f] and to that court he immediately applied himſelf. The ſame allurements had not here place which had ſo long entangled him in the Spaniſh negociation: the portion promiſed was much inferior; and the peaceable reſtoration of the palatine could not thence be expected. But James was afraid leſt his ſon ſhould be altogether diſappointed of a bride; and therefore, as ſoon as the French king demanded, for the honour of his crown, the ſame terms which had been granted to the Spaniſh, he was prevailed with to comply. And, as the prince during his abode in Spain had given a verbal promiſe to allow the infanta the education of her children till the age of thirteen, this article was here inſerted in the treaty; and to that imprudence is generally imputed the preſent diſtreſſed condition of his poſterity. The court of England, however, it muſt be confeſſed, always pretended, even in their memorials to the French court, that all the favourable conditions granted to the catholics were inſerted in the marriage treaty merely to pleaſe the pope, and

that their ſtrict execution was, by an agreement with France, ſecretly diſpenſed with.[g]

As much as the concluſion of the marriage treaty was acceptable to the king, as much were all the military enterpriſes diſagreeable, both from the extreme difficulty of the undertaking in which he was engaged and from his own incapacity for ſuch a ſcene of action.

During the Spaniſh negociation Heidelburg and Manheim had been taken by the Imperial forces; and Frankendale, though the garriſon was entirely Engliſh, was cloſely beſieged by them. After reiterated remonſtrances from James, Spain interpoſed, and procured a ſuſpenſion of arms during eighteen months. But, as Frankendale was the only place of Frederic's ancient dominions which was ſtill in his hands, Ferdinand, deſirous of withdrawing his forces from the Palatinate, and of leaving that ſtate in ſecurity, was unwilling that ſo important a fortreſs ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of the enemy. To compromiſe all differences, it was agreed to ſequeſtrate it into the hands of the infanta as a neutral perſon; upon condition that, after the expiration of the truce, it ſhould be delivered to Frederic, though peace ſhould not at that time be concluded between him [h] and Ferdinand. After the unexpected rupture with Spain the infanta, when James demanded the execution of the treaty, offered him peaceable poſſeſſion of Frankendale, and even promiſed a ſafe conduct for the garriſon through the Spaniſh Netherlands: but there was ſome territory of the empire interpoſed between her ſtate and the Palatinate; and for paſſage over that territory no terms were ſtipulated.[i] By this chicane, which certainly had not been employed if amity with Spain had been preſerved, the palatine was totally diſpoſſeſſed of his patrimonial dominions.

MANSFELDT'S EXPEDITION.

THE Engliſh nation, however, and James's warlike council, were not diſcouraged. It was ſtill determined to reconquer the Palatinate; a ſtate lying in the midſt of Germany, poſſeſſed entirely by the emperor and duke of Bavaria, ſurrounded by potent enemies, and cut off from all communication with England. Count Mansfeldt was taken into pay; and an Engliſh army of twelve thouſand foot and two hundred horſe was levied by a general preſs throughout the kingdom. During the negociation with France vaſt promiſes had been made, though in general terms, by the French miniſtry; not only that a free paſſage ſhould be granted to the Engliſh troops, but that powerful ſuccours ſhould alſo join them in their march towards the Palatinate. In England all theſe profeſſions were haſtily interpreted to be poſitive engagements. The troops under Mansfeldt's command were embarked at Dover; but, upon ſailing over to Calais, found no orders yet arrived for their admiſſion. After waiting in vain during ſome time, they were obliged to ſail towards Zealand, where it had alſo been neglected to concert proper meaſures for their diſembarkation; and ſome ſcruples aroſe among the States on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions. Meanwhile a peſtilential diſtemper crept in among the Engliſh forces, ſo long cooped up in narrow veſſels. Half the army died while on board; and the other half, weakened by ſickneſs, appeared too ſmall a body to march into the Palatinate.[k] And thus ended this ill-concerted and fruitleſs expedition; the only diſaſter which happened to England during the proſperous and pacific reign of James.

DEATH OF THE KING. 1625.

THAT reign was now drawing towards a concluſion. With peace, ſo ſucceſsfully cultivated and ſo paſſionately loved by this monarch, his life alſo terminated. This ſpring he was ſeized with a tertian ague; and, when encouraged by his courtiers with the common proverb, that ſuch a diſtemper, during that ſeaſon, was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant of a young king. After ſome fits he found himſelf extremely weakened, and ſent for the prince, whom he exhorted to bear a tender affection for his wife, but to preſerve a conſtancy in religion; to protect the church of England; and to extend his care towards the unhappy family of the palatine.[1] With decency and courage he prepared himſelf for his end; and he expired on the twenty-ſeventh of March, after a reign over England of twenty-two years and ſome days, and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His reign over Scotland was almoſt of equal duration with his life. In all hiſtory it would be difficult to find a reign leſs illuſtrious, yet more unſpotted and unblemiſhed, than that of James in both kingdoms.

CHARACTER OF THE KING.

No prince, ſo little enterpriſing and ſo inoffenſive, was ever ſo much expoſed to the oppoſite extremes of calumny and flattery, of ſatire and panegyric. And the factions, which began in his time, being ſtill continued, have made his character be as much diſputed to this day as is commonly that of princes who are our contemporaries. Many virtues, however, it muſt be owned, he was poſſeſſed of; but ſcarce any of them pure, or free from the contagion of the neighbouring vices. His generoſity bordered

on profuſion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific diſpoſition on puſillanimity, his wiſdom on cunning, his friendſhip on light fancy and boyiſh fondneſs. While he imagined that he was only maintaining his own authority he may perhaps be ſuſpected, in a few of his actions, and ſtill more of his pretenſions, to have ſomewhat encroached on the liberties of his people: while he endeavoured, by an exact neutrality, to acquire the good-will of all his neighbours, he was able to preſerve fully the eſteem and regard of none. His capacity was conſiderable; but fitter to diſcourſe on general maxims than to conduct any intricate buſineſs: his intentions were juſt; but more adapted to the conduct of private life than to the government of kingdoms. Awkward in his perſon, and ungainly in his manners, he was ill qualified to command reſpect: partial and undiſcerning in his affections, he was little fitted to acquire general love. Of a feeble temper more than of a frail judgment: expoſed to our ridicule from his vanity; but exempt from our hatred by his freedom from pride and arrogance. And, upon the whole, it may be pronounced of his character, that all his qualities were ſullied with weakneſs and embelliſhed by humanity. Of political courage he certainly was deſtitute; and thence chiefly is derived the ſtrong prejudice which prevails againſt his perſonal bravery: an inference, however, which muſt be owned, from general experience, to be extremely fallacious.

He was only once married, to Anne of Denmark, who died on the third of March 1619, in the forty-fifth year of her age; a woman eminent neither for her vices nor her virtues. She loved ſhews and expenſive amuſements, but poſſeſſed little taſte in her pleaſures. A great comet appeared about the time of her death, and the vulgar eſteemed it the prognoſtic of that event: ſo conſiderable in their eyes are even the moſt inſignificant princes.

He left only one ſon, Charles, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the elector palatine. She was aged twenty-nine years. Thoſe alone remained of ſix legitimate children born to him. He never had any illegitimate; and he never diſcovered any tendency, even the ſmalleſt, towards a paſſion for any miſtreſs.

The archbiſhops of Canterbury, during this reign, were Whytgift, who died in 1604; Bancroft, in 1610; Abbot, who ſurvived the king. The chancellors, lord Elleſmore, who reſigned in 1617; Bacon was firſt lord keeper till 1619; then was created chancellor, and was diſplaced in 1621; Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, was created lord keeper in his place. The high treaſurers were, the earl of Dorſet, who died in 1609; the earl of Saliſbury, in 1612; the earl of Suffolk, fined and diſplaced for bribery in 1618; lord Mandeville, reſigned in 1621; the earl of Middleſex, diſplaced in 1624; the earl of Marlborough ſucceeded. The lord admirals were, the earl of Nottingham, who reſigned in 1618; the earl, afterwards duke of Buckingham. The ſecretaries of ſtate were, the earl of Saliſbury, ſir Ralph Winwood, Nanton, Calvert, lord Conway, ſir Albertus Moreton.

The numbers of the houſe of lords, in the firſt parliament of this reign, were ſeventy-eight temporal peers: the numbers in the firſt parliament of Charles were ninety-ſeven; conſequently James, during that period, created nineteen new peerages above thoſe that expired.

The houſe of commons, in the firſt parliament of this reign, conſiſted of four hundred and ſixty-ſeven members. It appears that four boroughs revived their charters, which they had formerly neglected: and, as the firſt parliament of Charles conſiſted of four hundred and ninety-four members, we may infer that James created ten new boroughs.

STUART FAMILY

APPENDIX

TO THE

REIGN OF JAMES I.[m]

CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND DURING THIS PERIOD....ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT.... MANNERS.... FINANCES.... ARMS.... NAVY....COMMERCE....MANUFACTURES....COLONIES....LEARNING AND ARTS.

IT may not be improper at this period to make a pauſe; and to take a ſurvey of the ſtate of the kingdom with regard to government, manners, finances, arms, trade, learning. Where a juſt notion is not formed of theſe particulars hiſtory can be little inſtructive, and often will not be intelligible.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND.

WE may ſafely pronounce that the Engliſh government, at the acceſſion of the Scottiſh line, was much more arbitrary than it is at preſent; the prerogative leſs limited, the liberties of the ſubject leſs accurately defined and ſecured. Without mentioning other particulars, the courts alone of high commiſſion and ſtar-chamber were ſufficient to lay the whole kingdom at the mercy of the prince.

The court of high commiſſion had been erected by Elizabeth, in conſequence of an act of parliament paſſed in the beginning

of her reign: by this act it was thought proper, during the great revolution of religion, to arm the ſovereign with full powers, in order to diſcourage and ſuppreſs oppoſition. All appeals from the inferior eccleſiaſtical courts were carried before the high commiſſion; and, of conſequence, the whole life and doctrine of the clergy lay directly under its inſpection. Every breach of the act of uniformity, every refuſal of the ceremonies, was cognizable in this court; and, during the reign of Elizabeth, had been puniſhed by deprivation, by fine, confiſcation, and impriſonment. James contented himſelf with the gentler penalty of deprivation; nor was that puniſhment inflicted with rigour on every offender. Archbiſhop Spotſwood tells us that he was informed by Bancroft, the primate, ſeveral years after the king's acceſſion, that not above forty-five clergymen had then been deprived. All the catholics too were liable to be puniſhed by this court, if they exerciſed any act of their religion, or ſent abroad their children or other relations to receive that education which they could not procure them in their own country. Popiſh prieſts were thrown into priſon, and might be delivered over to the law, which puniſhed them with death; though that ſeverity had been ſparingly exerciſed by Elizabeth, and never almoſt by James. In a word, that liberty of conſcience, which we ſo highly and ſo juſtly value at preſent, was totally ſuppreſſed; and no exerciſe of any religion but the eſtabliſhed was permitted throughout the kingdom. Any word or writing, which tended towards hereſy or ſchiſm, was puniſhable by the high commiſſioners, or any three of them: they alone were judges what expreſſions had that tendency: they proceeded not by information, but upon rumour, ſuſpicion, or according to their diſcretion: they adminiſtered an oath, by which the party cited before them was bound to anſwer any queſtion which ſhould be propounded to him: whoever refuſed this oath, though he pleaded ever ſo juſtly, that he

might thereby be brought to accuſe himſelf or his deareſt friend, was puniſhable by impriſonment: and, in ſhort, an inquiſitorial tribunal, with all its terrors and iniquities, was erected in the kingdom. Full diſcretionary powers were beſtowed with regard to the inquiry, trial, ſentence, and penalty inflicted; excepting only that corporal puniſhments were reſtrained by that patent of the prince which erected the court, not by the act of parliament which empowered him. By reaſon of the uncertain limits which ſeparate eccleſiaſtical from civil cauſes, all accuſations of adultery and inceſt were tried by the court of high commiſſion; and every complaint of wives againſt their huſbands was there examined and diſcuſſed.[n] On like pretences every cauſe which regarded conſcience, that is, every cauſe, could have been brought under their juriſdiction.

But there was a ſufficient reaſon why the king would not be ſolicitous to ſtretch the juriſdiction of this court: the ſtar-chamber poſſeſſed the ſame authority in civil matters; and its methods of proceeding were equally arbitrary and unlimited. The origin of this court was derived from the moſt remote [o] antiquity; though it is pretended that its power had firſt been carried to the greateſt height by Henry VII. In all times, however, it is confeſſed it enjoyed authority; and at no time was its authority circumſcribed, or method of proceeding directed, by any law or ſtatute.

We have had already, or ſhall have, ſufficient occaſion, during the courſe of this hiſtory, to mention the diſpenſing power, the power of impriſonment, of exacting loans,[p] and benevolence of preſſing and quartering ſoldiers, of altering the cuſtoms, of erecting monopolies. Theſe branches of power, if not directly oppoſite to the principles of all free government, muſt at leaſt be acknowledged dangerous to freedom in a monarchical conſtitution, where an eternal jealouſy muſt be preſerved againſt the

ſovereign, and no diſcretionary powers muſt ever be intruſted to him by which the property or perſonal liberty of any ſubject can be affected. The kings of England, however, had almoſt conſtantly exerciſed theſe powers; and, if on any occaſion the prince had been obliged to ſubmit to laws enacted againſt them, he had ever, in practice, eluded theſe laws, and returned to the ſame arbitrary adminiſtration. During almoſt three centuries before the acceſſion of James the regal authority, in all theſe particulars, had never once been called in queſtion.

We may alſo obſerve that the principles in general which prevailed during that age were ſo favourable to monarchy, that they beſtowed on it an authority almoſt abſolute and unlimited, ſacred and indefeaſible.

The meetings of parliament were ſo precarious; their ſeſſions ſo ſhort, compared to the vacation; that, when men's eyes were turned upwards in ſearch of ſovereign power, the prince alone was apt to ſtrike them as the only permanent magiſtrate, inveſted with the whole majeſty and authority of the ſtate. The great complaiſance too of parliaments, during ſo long a period, had extremely degraded and obſcured thoſe aſſemblies; and, as all inſtances of oppoſition to prerogative muſt have been drawn from a remote age, they were unknown to a great many, and had the leſs authority even with thoſe who were acquainted with them. Theſe examples, beſides, of liberty had commonly in ancient times been accompanied with ſuch circumſtances of violence, convulſion, civil war, and diſorder, that they preſented but a diſagreeable idea to the inquiſitive part of the people, and afforded ſmall inducement to renew ſuch diſmal ſcenes. By a great many, therefore, monarchy, ſimple and unmixed, was conceived to be the government of England; and thoſe popular aſſemblies were ſuppoſed to form only the ornament of the fabric, without being in any degree eſſential to its being and ex-

iſtence.[q] The prerogative of the crown was repreſented by lawyers as ſomething real and durable; like thoſe eternal eſſences of the ſchools which no time or force could alter. The ſanction of religion was by divines called in aid; and the monarch of heaven was ſuppoſed to be intereſted in ſupporting the authority of his earthly vicegerent. And, though it is pretended that theſe doctrines were more openly inculcated and more ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on during the reign of the Stuarts, they were not then invented; and were only found by the court to be more neceſſary at that period, by reaſon of the oppoſite doctrines which began to be promulgated by the puritanical party.[r]

In conſequence of theſe exalted ideas of kingly authority, the prerogative, beſides the articles of juriſdiction founded on precedent, was by many ſuppoſed to poſſeſs an inexhauſtible fund of latent powers, which might be exerted on any emergence. In every government, neceſſity, when real, ſuperſedes all laws, and levels all limitations: but in the Engliſh government convenience alone was conceived to authorize any extraordinary act of regal power, and to render it obligatory on the people. Hence the ſtrict obedience required to proclamations during all periods of the Engliſh hiſtory; and, if James has incurred blame on account of his edicts, it is only becauſe he too frequently iſſued them at a time when they began to be leſs regarded, not becauſe he firſt aſſumed or extended to an unuſual degree that exerciſe of authority. Of his maxims in a parallel caſe the following is a pretty remarkable inſtance.

Queen Elizabeth had appointed commiſſioners for the inſpection of priſons, and had beſtowed on them full diſcretionary powers to adjuſt all differences between priſoners and their creditors, to compound debts, and to give liberty to ſuch debtors as they found honeſt and inſolvent. From the uncertain and undefined nature of the Engliſh conſtitution, doubts ſprang up

in many that this commiſſion was contrary to law; and it was repreſented in that light to James. He forbore therefore renewing the commiſſion till the fifteenth of his reign; when complaints roſe ſo high, with regard to the abuſes practiſed in priſons, that he thought himſelf obliged to overcome his ſcruples, and to appoint new commiſſioners, inveſted with the ſame diſcretionary powers which Elizabeth had formerly conferred.*

Upon the whole, we muſt conceive that monarchy, on the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart, was poſſeſſed of a very extenſive authority: an authority, in the judgment of all, not exactly limited; in the judgment of ſome, not limitable. But, at the ſame time, this authority was founded merely on the opinion of the people, influenced by ancient precedent and example. It was not ſupported either by money or by force of arms. And for this reaſon we need not wonder that the princes of that line were ſo extremely jealous of their prerogative; being ſenſible that, when thoſe claims were raviſhed from them, they poſſeſſed no influence by which they could maintain their dignity, or ſupport the laws. By the changes which have ſince been introduced the liberty and independence of individuals has been rendered much more full, entire, and ſecure; that of the public more uncertain and precarious. And it ſeems a neceſſary, though perhaps a melancholy truth, that in every government the magiſtrate muſt either poſſeſs a large revenue and a military force, or enjoy ſome diſcretionary powers, in order to execute the laws and ſupport his own authority.

ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT.

We have had occaſion to remark, in ſo many inſtances, the bigotry which prevailed in that age, that we can look for no toleration among the different ſects. Two Arians, under the title

of heretics, were puniſhed by fire during this period; and no one reign ſince the reformation had been free from like barbarities. Stowe ſays that theſe Arians were offered their pardon at the ſtake, if they would merit it by a recantation. A madman, who called himſelf the Holy Ghoſt, was, without any indulgence for his frenzy, condemned to the ſame puniſhment. Twenty pounds a month could by law be levied on every one who frequented not the eſtabliſhed worſhip. This rigorous law, however, had one indulgent clauſe, that the fines exacted ſhould not exceed two-thirds of the yearly income of the perſon. It had been uſual for Elizabeth to allow thoſe penalties to run on for ſeveral years; and to levy them all at once, to the utter ruin of ſuch catholics as had incurred her diſpleaſure. James was more humane in this, as in every other reſpect. The puritans formed a ſect which ſecretly lurked in the church, but pretended not to any ſeparate worſhip or diſcipline. An attempt of that kind would have been univerſally regarded as the moſt unpardonable enormity. And, had the king been diſpoſed to grant the puritans a full toleration for a ſeparate exerciſe of their religion, it is certain, from the ſpirit of the times, that this ſect itſelf would have deſpiſed and hated him for it, and would have reproached him with lukewarmneſs and indifference in the cauſe of religion. They maintained that they themſelves were the only pure church; that their principles and practices ought to be eſtabliſhed by law, and that no others ought to be tolerated. It may be queſtioned, therefore, whether the adminiſtration at this time could with propriety deſerve the appellation of perſecutors with regard to the puritans. Such of the clergy, indeed, as refuſed to comply with the legal ceremonies, were deprived of their livings, and ſometimes in Elizabeth's reign were otherwiſe puniſhed: and ought any man to accept of an office or benefice in any eſtabliſhment, while he declines compliance with

the fixed and known rules of that eſtabliſhment? But puritans were never puniſhed for frequenting ſeparate congregations, becauſe there were none ſuch in the kingdom, and no proteſtant ever aſſumed or pretended to the right of erecting them. The greateſt well-wiſhers of the puritanical ſect would have condemned a practice, which in that age was univerſally, by ſtateſmen and eccleſiaſtics, philoſophers and zealots, regarded as ſubverſive of civil ſociety. Even ſo great a reaſoner as lord Bacon thought that uniformity in religion was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſupport of government, and that no toleration could with ſafety be given to ſectaries.[t] Nothing but the imputation of idolatry, which was thrown on the catholic religion, could juſtify, in the eyes of the puritans themſelves, the ſchiſm made by the hugonots and other proteſtants, who lived in popiſh countries.

In all former ages, not wholly excepting even thoſe of Greece and Rome, religious ſects, and hereſies and ſchiſms, had been eſteemed dangerous if not pernicious to civil government, and were regarded as the ſource of faction and private combination, and oppoſition to the laws.[u] The magiſtrate, therefore, applied himſelf directly to the cure of this evil as of every other; and very naturally attempted by penal ſtatutes to ſuppreſs thoſe ſeparate communities, and puniſh the obſtinate innovators. But it was found by fatal experience, and after ſpilling an ocean of blood in thoſe theological quarrels, that the evil was of a peculiar nature, and was both enflamed by violent remedies, and diffuſed itſelf more rapidly throughout the whole ſociety. Hence, though late, aroſe the paradoxical principle and ſalutary practice of toleration.

The liberty of the preſs was incompatible with ſuch maxims and ſuch principles of government as then prevailed, and was therefore quite unknown in that age. Beſides employing the two terrible courts of ſtar chamber and high commiſſion, whoſe

powers were unlimited, queen Elizabeth exerted her authority by reſtraints upon the preſs. She paſſed a decree in her court of ſtar chamber, that is, by her own will and pleaſure, forbidding any book to be printed in any place but in London, Oxford, and Cambridge.[x] And another, in which ſhe prohibited, under ſevere penalties, the publiſhing of any book or pamphlet 'againſt the form or meaning of any reſtraint or ordinance, contained, or to be contained, in any ſtatute or laws of this realm, or in any injunction made or ſet forth by her majeſty or her privy council, or againſt the true ſenſe or meaning of any letters patent, commiſſions or prohibitions[y] under the great ſeal of England.' James extended the ſame penalties to the importing of ſuch books from abroad.[z] And, to render theſe edicts more effectual, he afterwards inhibited the printing of any book without a licenſe from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of London, or the vice chancellor of one of the univerſities, or of ſome perſon appointed by them.[a]

In tracing the coherence among the ſyſtems of modern theology, we may obſerve that the doctrine of abſolute decrees has ever been intimately connected with the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit; as that doctrine affords the higheſt ſubject of joy, triumph, and ſecurity, to the ſuppoſed elect, and exalts them by infinite degrees above the reſt of mankind. All the firſt reformers adopted theſe principles; and the Janſeniſts too, a fanatical ſect in France, not to mention the Mahometans in Aſia, have ever embraced them. As the Lutheran eſtabliſhments were ſubjected to epiſcopal juriſdiction, their enthuſiaſtic genius gradually decayed, and men had leiſure to perceive the abſurdity of ſuppoſing God to puniſh, by infinite torments, what he himſelf from all eternity had unchangeably decreed. The king, though at this time his Calviniſtic education had rivetted him in the doctrine of abſolute decrees, yet, being a zealous partiſan of epiſcopacy, was inſen-

ſibly engaged, towards the end of his reign, to favour the milder theology of Arminius. Even in ſo great a doctor, the genius of the religion prevailed over its ſpeculative tenets; and with him the whole clergy gradually dropped the more rigid principles of abſolute reprobation and unconditional decrees. Some noiſe was at firſt made about theſe innovations; but, being drowned in the fury of factions and civil wars which enſued, the ſcholaſtic arguments made an inſignificant figure amidſt thoſe violent diſputes about civil and eccleſiaſtical power with which the nation was agitated. And, at the reſtoration, the church, though ſhe ſtill retained her old ſubſcriptions and articles of faith, was found to have totally changed her ſpeculative doctrines, and to have embraced tenets more ſuitable to the genius of her diſcipline and worſhip, without its being poſſible to aſſign the preciſe period in which the alteration was produced.

It may be worth obſerving, that James, from his great deſire to promote controverſial divinity, erected a college at Chelſea for the entertainment of twenty perſons, who ſhould be entirely employed in refuting the papiſts and puritans.[b] All the efforts of the great Bacon could not procure an eſtabliſhment for the cultivation of natural philoſophy; even to this day no ſociety has been inſtituted for the poliſhing and fixing of our language. The only encouragement, which the ſovereign in England has ever given to any thing that has the appearance of ſcience, was this ſhort-lived eſtabliſhment of James; an inſtitution quite ſuperfluous, conſidering the unhappy propenſion which at that time ſo univerſally poſſeſſed the nation for polemical theology.

MANNERS.

THE manners of the nation were agreeable to the monarchical government which prevailed, and contained not that ſtrange

mixture which at preſent diſtinguiſhes England from all other countries. Such violent extremes were then unknown of induſtry and debauchery, frugality and profuſion, civility and ruſticity, fanaticiſm and ſcepticiſm. Candour, ſincerity, modeſty, are the only qualities which the Engliſh of that age poſſeſſed in common with the preſent.

High pride of family then prevailed; and it was by a dignity and ſtatelineſs of behaviour that the gentry and nobility diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the common people. Great riches, acquired by commerce, were more rare, and had not as yet been able to confound all ranks of men, and render money the chief foundation of diſtinction. Much ceremony took place in the common intercourſe of life, and little familiarity was indulged by the great. The advantages which reſult from opulence are ſo ſolid and real, that thoſe who are poſſeſſed of them need not dread the near approaches of their inferiors: the diſtinctions of birth and title, being more empty and imaginary, ſoon vaniſh upon familiar acceſs and acquaintance.

The expenſes of the great conſiſted in pomp and ſhew, and a numerous retinue, rather than in convenience and true pleaſure. The earl of Nottingham, in his embaſſy to Spain, was attended by five hundred perſons; the earl of Hertford, in that to Bruſſels, carried three hundred gentlemen along with him. Lord Bacon has remarked that the Engliſh nobility in his time maintained a larger retinue of ſervants than the nobility of any other nation, except perhaps the Polanders.[c]

Civil honours, which now hold the firſt place, were at that time ſubordinate to the military. The young gentry and nobility were fond of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by arms. The fury of duels too prevailed more than at any time before or ſince.[d] This was the turn that the romantic chivalry, for which the nation was formerly ſo renowned, had lately taken.

Liberty of commerce between the ſexes was indulged, but without any licentiouſneſs of manners. The court was very little an exception to this obſervation. James had rather entertained an averſion and contempt for the females; nor were thoſe young courtiers, of whom he was ſo fond, able to break through the eſtabliſhed manners of the nation.

The firſt ſedan chair ſeen in England was in this reign, and was uſed by the duke of Buckingham, to the great indignation of the people, who exclaimed that he was employing his fellow creatures to do the ſervice of beaſts.

The country life prevails at preſent in England beyond any cultivated nation in Europe; but it was then much more generally embraced by all the gentry. The increaſe of arts, pleaſures, and ſocial commerce, was juſt beginning to produce an inclination for the ſofter and the more civilized life of the city. James diſcouraged as much as poſſible this alteration of manners. 'He was wont to be very earneſt,' as lord Bacon tells us, 'with the country gentlemen to go from London to their country ſeats. And ſometimes he would ſay thus to them: "Gentlemen, at London you are like ſhips in a ſea, which ſhew like nothing; but in your country villages you are like ſhips in a river,[e] which look like great things."

He was not content with reproof and exhortation. As queen Elizabeth had perceived with regret the increaſe of London, and had reſtrained all new buildings by proclamation, James, who found that theſe edicts were not exactly obeyed, frequently renewed them; though a ſtrict execution ſeems ſtill to have been wanting. He alſo iſſued reiterated proclamations, in imitation of his predeceſſor, containing ſevere menaces againſt the gentry who lived in town.[f] This policy is contrary to that which has ever been practiſed by all princes who ſtudied the increaſe of their authority. To allure the nobility to court; to engage them

in expenſive pleaſures or employments, which diſſipate their fortune; to increaſe their ſubjection to miniſters by attendance; to weaken their authority in the provinces by abſence; theſe have been the common arts of arbitrary government. But James, beſides that he had certainly laid no plan for extending his power, had no money to ſupport a ſplendid court, or beſtow on a numerous retinue of gentry and nobility. He thought too that, by their living together, they became more ſenſible of their own ſtrength, and were apt to indulge too curious reſearches into matters of government. To remedy the preſent evil, he was deſirous of diſperſing them into their country ſeats; where he hoped they would bear a more ſubmiſſive reverence to his authority, and receive leſs ſupport from each other. But the contrary effect ſoon followed: the riches amaſſed during their reſidence at home rendered them independent; the influence acquired by hoſpitality made them formidable. They would not be led by the court; they could not be driven. And thus the ſyſtem of the Engliſh government received a total and a ſudden alteration in the courſe of leſs than forty years.

The firſt riſe of commerce and the arts had contributed, in preceding reigns, to ſcatter thoſe immenſe fortunes of the barons which rendered them ſo formidable both to king and people. The farther progreſs of theſe advantages began during this reign to ruin the ſmall proprietors of land;[s] and, by both events, the gentry, or that rank which compoſed the houſe of commons, enlarged their power and authority. The early improvements in luxury were ſeized by the greater nobles, whoſe fortunes, placing them above frugality, or even calculation, were ſoon diſſipated in expenſive pleaſures. Theſe improvements reached at laſt all men of property; and thoſe of ſlender fortunes, who at that time were often men of family, imitating thoſe of a rank immediately above them, reduced themſelves to poverty. Their

lands, coming to ſale, ſwelled the eſtates of thoſe who poſſeſſed riches ſufficient for the faſhionable expenſes, but who were not exempted from ſome care and attention to their domeſtic economy.

The gentry alſo of that age were engaged in no expenſe, except that of country hoſpitality. No taxes were levied, no wars waged, no attendance at court expected, no bribery or profuſion required at elections.[h] Could human nature ever reach happineſs, the condition of the Engliſh gentry under ſo mild and benign a prince might merit that appellation.

FINANCES.

THE amount of the king's revenue, as it ſtood in 1617, is thus ſtated:[i] of crown lands eighty thouſand pounds a year; by cuſtoms and new impoſitions near one hundred and ninety thouſand; by wards and other various branches of revenue, beſide purveyance, one hundred and eighty thouſand. The whole amounting to four hundred and fifty thouſand. The king's ordinary diſburſements, by the ſame account, are ſaid to exceed this ſum thirty-ſix thouſand pounds.[k] All the extraordinary ſums which James had raiſed by ſubſidies, loans, ſale of lands, ſale of the title of baronet, money paid by the States, and by the king of France, benevolences, &c. were in the whole about two millions two hundred thouſand pounds; of which the ſale of lands afforded ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds. The extraordinary diſburſements of the king amounted to two millions, beſides above four hundred thouſand pounds given in preſents. Upon the whole, a ſufficient reaſon appears, partly from neceſſary expenſes, partly for want of a rigid economy, why the king, even early in his reign, was deeply involved in debt, and found great difficulty to ſupport the government.

Farmers, not commiſſioners, levied the cuſtoms. It ſeems, indeed, requiſite that the former method ſhould always be tried before the latter, though a preferable one. When men's own intereſt is concerned they fall upon a hundred expedients to prevent frauds in the merchants; and theſe the public may afterwards imitate in eſtabliſhing proper rules for its officers.

The cuſtoms were ſuppoſed to amount to five per cent. of the value, and were levied upon exports as well as imports. Nay, the impoſition upon exports, by James's additions, is ſaid to amount in ſome few inſtances to twenty-five per cent. This practice, ſo hurtful to induſtry, prevails ſtill in France, Spain, and moſt countries of Europe. The cuſtoms in 1604 yielded one hundred and twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds a year:[1] they roſe to one hundred and ninety thouſand towards the end of the reign.

Intereſt, during this reign, was ten per cent. till 1624, when it was reduced to eight. This high intereſt is an indication of the great profits and ſmall progreſs of commerce.

The extraordinary ſupplies granted by parliament during this whole reign amounted not to more than ſix hundred and thirty thouſand pounds; which, divided among twenty-one years, makes thirty thouſand pounds a year. I do not include thoſe ſupplies, amounting to three hundred thouſand pounds, which were given to the king by his laſt parliament. Theſe were paid in to their own commiſſioners; and the expenſes of the Spaniſh war were much more than ſufficient to exhauſt them. The diſtreſſed family of the palatine was a great burden on James during part of his reign. The king, it is pretended, poſſeſſed not frugality proportioned to the extreme narrowneſs of his revenue. Splendid equipages, however, he did not affect, nor coſtly furniture, nor a luxurious table, nor prodigal miſtreſſes. His buildings too were not ſumptuous; though the banqueting-houſe muſt not be forgotten, as a monument which does honour to his reign.

Hunting was his chief amuſement, the cheapeſt pleaſure in which a king can indulge himſelf. His expenſes were the effects of liberality rather than of luxury.

One day, it is ſaid, while he was ſtanding amidſt ſome of his courtiers, a porter paſſed by loaded with money, which he was carrying to the treaſury. The king obſerved that Rich, afterwards earl of Holland, one of his handſome agreeable favourites, whiſpered ſomething to one ſtanding near him. Upon inquiry he found that Rich had ſaid, 'How happy would that money make me!' Without heſitation James beſtowed it all upon him, though it amounted to three thouſand pounds. He added, 'You think yourſelf very happy in obtaining ſo large a ſum; but I am more happy in having an opportunity of obliging a worthy man, whom I love.' The generoſity of James was more the reſult of a benign humour, or light fancy, than of reaſon or judgment. The objects of it were ſuch as could render themſelves agreeable to him in his looſe hours; not ſuch as were endowed with great merit, or who poſſeſſed talents or popularity which could ſtrengthen his intereſt with the public.

The ſame advantage, we may remark, over the people, which the crown formerly reaped from that interval between the fall of the peers and the riſe of the commons, was now poſſeſſed by the people againſt the crown, during the continuance of a like interval. The ſovereign had already loſt that independent revenue by which he could ſubſiſt without regular ſupplies from parliament; and he had not yet acquired the means of influencing thoſe aſſemblies. The effects of this ſituation, which commenced with the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart, ſoon roſe to a great height, and were more or leſs propagated throughout all the reigns of that unhappy family.

Subſidies and fifteenths are frequently mentioned by hiſtorians; but neither the amount of theſe taxes nor the method of

levying them have been well explained. It appears that the fifteenths formerly correſponded to the name, and were that proportionable part of the moveables.[m] But, a valuation having been made in the reign of Edward III, that valuation was always adhered to, and each town paid unalterably a particular ſum, which the inhabitants themſelves aſſeſſed upon their fellow citizens. The ſame tax in corporate towns was called a tenth, becauſe there it was at firſt a tenth of the moveables. The whole amount of a tenth and a fifteenth throughout the kingdom, or a fifteenth as it is often more conciſely called, was about twenty-nine thouſand pounds.[n] The amount of a ſubſidy was not invariable, like that of a fifteenth. In the eighth of Elizabeth a ſubſidy amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds: in the fortieth it was not above ſeventy-eight thouſand.[o] It afterwards fell to ſeventy thouſand, and was continually decreaſing.[p] The reaſon is eaſily collected from the method of levying it. We may learn, from the ſubſidy bills,[q] that one ſubſidy was given for four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight pence on moveables throughout the counties: a conſiderable tax, had it been ſtrictly levied. But this was only the ancient ſtate of a ſubſidy. During the reign of James there was not paid the twentieth part of that ſum. The tax was ſo far perſonal, that a man paid only in the county where he lived, though he ſhould poſſeſs eſtates in other counties; and the aſſeſſors formed a looſe eſtimation of his property, and rated him accordingly. To preſerve, however, ſome rule in the eſtimation, it ſeems to have been the practice to keep an eye to former aſſeſſments, and to rate every man according as his anceſtors, or men of ſuch an eſtimated property were accuſtomed to pay. This was a ſufficient reaſon why ſubſidies could not increaſe, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of money and riſe of rents. But there was an evident reaſon why they continually decreaſed.

The favour, as is natural to ſuppoſe, ran always againſt the crown; eſpecially during the latter end of Elizabeth, when ſubſidies became numerous and frequent, and the ſums levied were conſiderable, compared to former ſupplies. The aſſeſſors, though accuſtomed to have an eye to ancient eſtimations, were not bound to obſerve any ſuch rule; but might rate anew any perſon according to his preſent income. When rents fell, or part of an eſtate was ſold off, the proprietor was ſure to repreſent theſe loſſes, and obtain a diminution of his ſubſidy; but, where rents roſe, or new lands were purchaſed, he kept his own ſecret, and paid no more than formerly. The advantage, therefore, of every change was taken againſt the crown; and the crown could obtain the advantage of none. And, to make the matter worſe, the alterations which happened in property during this age were in general unfavourable to the crown. The ſmall proprietors, or twenty-pound men, went continually to decay; and, when their eſtates were ſwallowed up by a greater, the new purchaſer increaſed not his ſubſidy. So looſe indeed is the whole method of rating ſubſidies, that the wonder was not how the tax ſhould continually diminiſh, but how it yielded any revenue at all. It became at laſt ſo unequal and uncertain, that the parliament was obliged to change it into a land tax.

The price of corn during this reign, and that of the other neceſſaries of life, was no lower, or was rather higher, than at preſent. By a proclamation of James, eſtabliſhing public magazines, whenever wheat fell below thirty-two ſhillings a quarter, rye below eighteen, barley below ſixteen, the commiſſioners were empowered to purchaſe corn for the magazines.[r] Theſe prices then are to be regarded as low; though they would rather paſs for high by our preſent eſtimation. The uſual bread of the poor was at this time made of barley.[s] The beſt wool, during the greater part of James's reign,[t] was at thirty-three ſhillings a tod.

At preſent it is not above two-thirds of that value, though it is to be preſumed that our exports in woollen goods are ſomewhat increaſed. The finer manufactures too, by the progreſs of arts and induſtry, have rather diminiſhed in price, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of money. In Shakeſpeare, the hoſteſs tells Falſtaff that the ſhirts ſhe bought him were holland at eight ſhillings a yard; a high price at this day, even ſuppoſing, what is not probable, that the beſt holland at that time was equal in goodneſs to the beſt that can now be purchaſed. In like manner, a yard of velvet, about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, was valued at two-and-twenty ſhillings. It appears, from Dr. Birch's life of prince Henry,[u] that that prince, by contract with his butcher, paid near a groat a pound throughout the year for all the beef and mutton uſed in his family. Beſides, we muſt conſider that the general turn of that age, which no laws could prevent, was the converting of arable land into paſture: a certain proof that the latter was found more profitable, and conſequently that all butcher's meat, as well as bread, was rather higher than at preſent. We have a regulation of the market with regard to poultry, and ſome other articles, very early in Charles the Firſt's reign;[w] and the prices are high. A turkey-cock four ſhillings and ſix pence, a turkey-hen three ſhillings, a pheaſant-cock ſix, a pheaſant-hen five, a partridge one ſhilling, a gooſe two, a capon two and ſix pence, a pullet one and ſix pence, a rabbit eight pence, a dozen of pigeons [x] ſix ſhillings. We muſt conſider that London at preſent is more than three times more populous than it was at that time; a circumſtance which much increaſes the price of poultry, and of every thing that cannot conveniently be brought from a diſtance: not to mention that theſe regulations by authority are always calculated to diminiſh, never to increaſe, the market prices. The contractors for victualling the navy were allowed by govern-

ment eight pence a day for the diet of each man when in harbour, ſeven pence halfpenny when at ſea;[y] which would ſuffice at preſent. The chief difference in expenſe between that age and the preſent conſiſts in the imaginary wants of men, which have ſince extremely multiplied. Theſe[z] are the principal reaſons why James's revenue would go farther than the ſame money in our time, though the difference is not near ſo great as is uſually imagined.

ARMS.

THE public was entirely free from the danger and expenſe of a ſtanding army. While James was vaunting his divine vicegerency, and boaſting of his high prerogative, he poſſeſſed not ſo much as a ſingle regiment of guards to maintain his extenſive claims: a ſufficient proof that he ſincerely believed his pretenſions to be well grounded, and a ſtrong preſumption that they were at leaſt built on what were then deemed plauſible arguments. The militia of England, amounting to one hundred and ſixty thouſand men,[a] was the ſole defence of the kingdom. It is pretended that they were kept in good order[b] during this reign. The city of London procured officers who had ſerved abroad, and who taught the trained bands their exerciſes in Artillery garden; a practice which had been diſcontinued ſince 1588. All the counties of England, in emulation of the capital, were fond of ſhewing a well-ordered and well-appointed militia. It appeared that the natural propenſity of men towards military ſhews and exerciſes will go far, with a little attention in the ſovereign, towards exciting and ſupporting this ſpirit in any nation. The very boys at this time, in mimickry of their elders, inliſted themſelves voluntarily into companies, elected officers, and practiſed the diſcipline, of which the models were every day expoſed to their view.[c] Sir Edward Harwood, in a memorial compoſed at

the beginning of the ſubſequent reign, ſays that England was ſo unprovided with horſes fit for war, that two thouſand men could not poſſibly be mounted throughout the whole kingdom.[d] At preſent the breed of horſes is ſo much improved, that almoſt all thoſe which are employed either in the plough, waggon, or coach, would be fit for that purpoſe.

The diſorders of Ireland obliged James to keep up ſome forces there, and put him to great expenſe. The common pay of a private man in the infantry was eight pence a day, a lieutenant two ſhillings, an enſign eighteen pence.[e] The armies in Europe were not near ſo numerous during that age; and the private men, we may obſerve, were drawn from a better rank than at preſent, and approaching nearer to that of the officers.

In the year 1583 there was a general review made of all the men in England capable of bearing arms; and theſe were found to amount to one million one hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand men, according to Raleigh.[f] It is impoſſible to warrant the exactneſs of this computation; or, rather, we may fairly preſume it to be ſomewhat inaccurate. But, if it approached near the truth, England has probably, ſince that time, increaſed in populouſneſs. The growth of London, in riches and beauty, as well as in numbers of inhabitants, has been prodigious. From 1600 it doubled every forty years;[g] and conſequently, in 1680, it contained four times as many inhabitants as at the beginning of the century. It has ever been the centre of all the trade in the kingdom, and almoſt the only town that affords ſociety and amuſement. The affection which the Engliſh bear to a country life makes the provincial towns be little frequented by the gentry. Nothing but the allurements of the capital, which is favoured by the reſidence of the king, and by being the ſeat of government, and of all the courts of juſtice, can prevail over their paſſion for their rural villas.

London at this time was almoſt entirely built of wood, and in every reſpect was certainly a very ugly city. The earl of Arundel firſt introduced the general practice of brick buildings.[h]

NAVY.

THE navy of England was eſteemed formidable in Elizabeth's time, yet it conſiſted only of thirty-three ſhips, beſides pinnaces;[i] and the largeſt of theſe would not equal our fourth-rates at preſent. Raleigh adviſes never to build a ſhip of war above ſix hundred tons.[k] James was not negligent of the navy. In five years preceding 1623 he built ten new ſhips, and expended fifty thouſand pounds a year on the fleet, beſides the value of thirty-ſix thouſand pounds in timber, which he annually gave from the royal foreſts.[l] The largeſt ſhip that had ever come from the Engliſh docks was built during this reign. She was only fourteen hundred tons, and carried ſixty-four guns.[m] The merchant ſhips, in caſes of neceſſity, were inſtantly converted into ſhips of war. The king affirmed to the parliament that the navy had never before been in ſo good a condition.[n]

COMMERCE.

EVERY ſeſſion of parliament during this reign we meet with grievous lamentations concerning the decay of trade, and the growth of popery: ſuch violent propenſity have men to complain of the preſent times, and to entertain diſcontent againſt their fortune and condition. The king himſelf was deceived by theſe popular complaints, and was at a loſs to account for the total want of money, which he heard ſo much exaggerated.[o] It may, however, be affirmed, that during no preceding period of Engliſh hiſtory was there a more ſenſible increaſe, than during the

reign of this monarch, of all the advantages which diſtinguiſh a flouriſhing people. Not only the peace which he maintained was favourable to induſtry and commerce: his turn of mind inclined him to promote the peaceful arts: and, trade being as yet in its infancy, all additions to it muſt have been the more evident to every eye, which was not blinded by melancholy prejudices.[p]

By an account,[q] which ſeems judicious and accurate, it appears that all the ſeamen employed in the merchant ſervice amounted to ten thouſand men, which probably exceeds not the fifth part of their preſent number. Sir Thomas Overbury ſays that the Dutch poſſeſſed three times more ſhipping than the Engliſh, but that their ſhips were of inferior burden to thoſe of the latter.[r] Sir William Monſon computed the Engliſh naval power to be little or nothing inferior [s] to the Dutch, which is ſurely an exaggeration. The Dutch at this time traded to England with ſix hundred ſhips, England to Holland with ſixty only.[t]

MANUFACTURES.

A CATALOGUE of the manufactures, for which the Engliſh were then eminent, would appear very contemptible, in compariſon of thoſe which flouriſh among them at preſent. Almoſt all the more elaborate and curious arts were only cultivated abroad, particularly in Italy, Holland, and the Netherlands. Ship-building, and the founding of iron cannon, were the ſole in which the Engliſh excelled. They ſeem, indeed, to have poſſeſſed alone the ſecret of the latter; and great complaints were made every parliament againſt the exportation of Engliſh ordnance.

Nine-tenths of the commerce of the kingdom conſiſted in woollen goods.[u] Wool, however, was allowed to be exported till

the nineteenth of the king. Its exportation was then forbidden by proclamation, though that edict was never ſtrictly executed. Moſt of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed and dreſſed by the Dutch; who gained, it is pretended, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds a year by this manufacture.[w] A proclamation iſſued by the king, againſt exporting cloth in that condition, had ſucceeded ſo ill during one year, by the refuſal of the Dutch to buy the dreſſed cloth, that great murmurs aroſe againſt it; and this meaſure was retracted by the king, and complained of by the nation, as if it had been the moſt impolitic in the world. It ſeems indeed to have been premature.

In ſo little credit was the fine Engliſh cloth even at home, that the king was obliged to ſeek expedients by which he might engage the people of faſhion to wear it.[x] The manufacture of fine linen was totally unknown in the kingdom.[y]

The company of merchant adventurers, by their patent, poſſeſſed the ſole commerce of woollen goods, though the ſtaple commodity of the kingdom. An attempt made, during the reign of Elizabeth, to lay open this important trade had been attended with bad conſequences for a time, by a conſpiracy of the merchant adventurers not to make any purchaſes of cloth; and the queen immediately reſtored them their patent.

It was the groundleſs fear of a like accident that enſlaved the nation to thoſe excluſive companies, which confined ſo much every branch of commerce and induſtry. The parliament, however, annulled, in the third of the king, the patent of the Spaniſh company; and the trade to Spain, which was at firſt very inſignificant, ſoon became the moſt conſiderable in the kingdom. It is ſtrange that they were not thence encouraged to aboliſh all the other companies, and that they went no farther than obliging them to enlarge their bottom, and to facilitate the admiſſion of new adventurers.

A board of trade was erected by the king in 1622.[z] One of the reaſons aſſigned in the commiſſion is to remedy the low price of wool, which begat complaints of the decay of the woollen manufactory. It is more probable, however, that this fall of prices proceeded from the increaſe of wool. The king likewiſe recommends it to the commiſſioners to inquire and examine whether a greater freedom of trade, and an exemption from the reſtraint of excluſive companies, would not be beneficial. Men were then fettered by their own prejudices; and the king was juſtly afraid of embracing a bold meaſure, whoſe conſequences might be uncertain. The digeſting of a navigation act, of a like nature with the famous one executed afterwards by the republican parliament, is likewiſe recommended to the commiſſioners. The arbitrary powers, then commonly aſſumed by the privy council, appear evidently through the whole tenor of the commiſſion.

The ſilk manufacture had no footing in England; but, by James's direction, mulberry-trees were planted, and ſilk-worms introduced.[a] The climate ſeems unfavourable to the ſucceſs of this project. The planting of hops increaſed much in England during this reign.

Greenland is thought to have been diſcovered about this period; and the whale fiſhery was carried on with ſucceſs: but the induſtry of the Dutch, in ſpite of all oppoſition, ſoon deprived the Engliſh of this ſource of riches. A company was erected for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage, and many fruitleſs attempts were made for that purpoſe. In ſuch noble projects deſpair ought never to be admitted till the abſolute impoſſibility of ſucceſs be fully aſcertained.

The paſſage to the Eaſt Indies had been opened to the Engliſh during the reign of Elizabeth; but the trade to thoſe parts was not entirely eſtabliſhed till this reign, when the Eaſt India

company received a new patent, enlarged their ſtock to one million five hundred thouſand pounds,[b] and fitted out ſeveral ſhips on theſe adventures. In 1609 they built a veſſel of twelve hundred tons, the largeſt merchant ſhip that England had ever known. She was unfortunate, and periſhed by ſhipwreck. In 1611 a large ſhip of the company, aſſiſted by a pinnace, maintained five ſeveral engagements with a ſquadron of Portugueſe, and gained a complete victory over forces much ſuperior. During the following years the Dutch company was guilty of great injuries towards the Engliſh, in expelling many of their factors, and deſtroying their ſettlements: but theſe violences were reſented with a proper ſpirit by the court of England. A naval force was equipped under the earl of Oxford,[c] and lay in wait for the return of the Dutch Eaſt India fleet. By reaſon of croſs winds Oxford failed of his purpoſe, and the Dutch eſcaped. Some time after one rich ſhip was taken by vice-admiral Merwin; and it was ſtipulated by the Dutch to pay ſeventy thouſand pounds to the Engliſh company, in conſideration of the loſſes which that company had ſuſtained.[d] But neither this ſtipulation, nor the fear of repriſals, nor the ſenſe of that friendſhip which ſubſiſted between England and the States, could reſtrain the avidity of the Dutch company, or render them equitable in their proceedings towards their allies. Impatient to have the ſole poſſeſſion of the ſpice trade, which the Engliſh then ſhared with them, they aſſumed a juriſdiction over a factory of the latter in the iſland of Amboyna; and on very improbable, and even abſurd, pretences ſeized all the factors, with their families, and put them to death with the moſt inhuman tortures. This diſmal news arrived in England at the time when James, by the prejudices of his ſubjects and the intrigues of his favourite, was conſtrained to make a breach with Spain; and he was obliged, after ſome remonſtrances, to acquieſce in this in-

dignity from a ſtate whoſe alliance was now become neceſſary to him. It is remarkable that the nation, almoſt without a murmur, ſubmitted to this injury from their proteſtant confederates; an injury which, beſides the horrid enormity of the action, was of much deeper importance to national intereſt than all thoſe which they were ſo impatient to reſent from the houſe of Auſtria.

The exports of England, from Chriſtmas 1612 to Chriſtmas 1613, are computed at two million four hundred and eighty-ſeven thouſand four hundred and thirty-five pounds; the imports at two million one hundred and forty-one thouſand one hundred and fifty-one: ſo that the balance in favour of England was three hundred and forty-ſix thouſand [e] two hundred and eighty-four. But in 1622 the exports were two million three hundred and twenty thouſand four hundred and thirty-ſix pounds, the imports two million ſix hundred and nineteen thouſand three hundred and fifteen; which makes a balance of two hundred and ninety-eight thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-nine pounds againſt England.[f] The coinage of England from 1599 to 1619 amounted to four million ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine thouſand three hundred and fourteen pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence:[g] a proof that the balance in the main was conſiderably in favour of the kingdom. As the annual imports and exports together roſe to near five millions, and the cuſtoms never yielded ſo much as two hundred thouſand pounds a year, of which tonnage made a part, it appears that the new rates affixed by James did not, on the whole, amount to one ſhilling in the pound, and conſequently were ſtill inferior to the intention of the original grant of parliament. The Eaſt India company uſually carried out a third of their cargo in commodities. The trade to Turkey was one of the moſt gainful to the nation.[h] It appears that copper halfpence and farthings began to be coined

in this reign. Tradeſmen had commonly carried on their retail buſineſs chiefly by means of leaden tokens. The ſmall ſilver penny was ſoon loſt, and at this time was no where to be found.

COLONIES.

WHAT chiefly renders the reign of James memorable is the commencement of the Engliſh colonies in America; colonies eſtabliſhed on the nobleſt footing that has been known in any age or nation. The Spaniards, being the firſt diſcoverers of the new world, immediately took poſſeſſion of the precious mines which they found there; and, by the allurement of great riches, they were tempted to depopulate their own country, as well as that which they conquered; and added the vice of ſloth to thoſe of avidity and barbarity, which had attended their adventurers in thoſe renowned enterpriſes. That fine coaſt was entirely neglected, which reaches from St. Auguſtin to Cape Breton, and which lies in all the temperate climates, is watered by noble rivers, and offers a fertile ſoil, but nothing more, to the induſtrious planter. Peopled gradually from England by the neceſſitous and indigent, who at home increaſed neither wealth nor populouſneſs, the colonies which were planted along that tract have promoted the navigation, encouraged the induſtry, and even perhaps multiplied the inhabitants of their mother country. The ſpirit of independency, which was reviving in England, here ſhone forth in its full luſtre, and received new acceſſion from the aſpiring character of thoſe who, being diſcontented with the eſtabliſhed church and monarchy, had ſought for freedom amidſt thoſe ſavage deſerts.

Queen Elizabeth had done little more than given a name to the continent of Virginia; and, after her planting one feeble colony, which quickly decayed, that country was entirely aban-

doned. But, when peace put an end to the military enterprifes againſt Spain, and left ambitious ſpirits no hopes of making any longer ſuch rapid advances towards honour and fortune, the nation began to ſecond the pacific intentions of its monarch, and to ſeek a ſurer, though ſlower, expedient for acquiring riches and glory. In 1606 Newport carried over a colony, and began a ſettlement; which the company, erected by patent for that purpoſe in London and Briſtol, took care to ſupply with yearly recruits of proviſions, utenſils, and new inhabitants. About 1609 Argal diſcovered a more direct and ſhorter paſſage to Virginia, and left the tract of the ancient navigators, who had firſt directed their courſe ſouthwards to the tropic, ſailed weſtward by means of the trade-winds, and then turned northward, till they reached the Engliſh ſettlements. The ſame year five hundred perſons, under ſir Thomas Gates and ſir George Somers, were embarked for Virginia. Somers's ſhip, meeting with a tempeſt, was driven into the Bermudas, and laid the foundation of a ſettlement in thoſe iſlands. Lord Delawar afterwards undertook the government of the Engliſh colonies: but, notwithſtanding all his care, ſeconded by ſupplies from James, and by money raiſed from the firſt lottery ever known in the kingdom, ſuch difficulties attended the ſettlement of theſe countries, that in 1614 there were not alive more than four hundred men of all that had been ſent thither. After ſupplying themſelves with proviſions, more immediately neceſſary for the ſupport of life, the new planters began the cultivating of tobacco; and James, notwithſtanding his antipathy to that drug, which he affirmed to be pernicious to men's morals as well as their health,[k] gave them permiſſion to enter it in England; and he inhibited by proclamation all importation of it from Spain.[l] By degrees new colonies were eſtabliſhed in that continent, and gave new names to the places where they ſettled, leaving that of Virginia to the

province firſt planted. The iſland of Barbadoes was alſo planted in this reign.

Speculative reaſoners, during that age, raiſed many objections to the planting of thoſe remote colonies; and foretold that, after draining their mother country of inhabitants, they would ſoon ſhake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America. But time has ſhewn that the views, entertained by thoſe who encouraged ſuch generous undertakings, were more juſt and ſolid. A mild government and great naval force have preſerved, and may ſtill preſerve during ſome time, the dominion of England over her colonies. And ſuch advantages have commerce and navigation reaped from theſe eſtabliſhments, that more than a fourth of the Engliſh ſhipping is at preſent computed to be employed in carrying on the traffic with the American ſettlements.

Agriculture was anciently very imperfect in England. The ſudden tranſitions ſo often mentioned by hiſtorians, from the loweſt to the higheſt price of grain, and the prodigious inequality of its value in different years, are ſufficient proofs that the produce depended entirely on the ſeaſons, and that art had as yet done nothing to fence againſt the injuries of the heavens. During this reign conſiderable improvements were made, as in moſt arts, ſo in this, the moſt beneficial of any. A numerous catalogue might be formed of books and pamphlets treating of huſbandry, which were written about this time. The nation, however, was ſtill dependent on foreigners for daily bread; and, though its exportation of grain now forms a conſiderable branch of its commerce, notwithſtanding its probable increaſe of people, there was in that period a regular importation from the Baltic, as well as from France; and, if it ever ſtopped, the bad conſequences were ſenſibly felt by the nation. Sir Walter Raleigh, in his obſervations, computes that two millions went out

at one time for corn. It was not till the fifth of Elizabeth that the exportation of corn had been allowed in England; and Camden obſerves that agriculture from that moment received new life and vigour.

The endeavours of James, or, more properly ſpeaking, thoſe of the nation, for promoting trade, were attended with greater ſucceſs than thoſe for the encouragement of learning. Though the age was by no means deſtitute of eminent writers, a very bad taſte in general prevailed during that period; and the monarch himſelf was not a little infected with it.

LEARNING AND ARTS.

On the origin of letters among the Greeks, the genius of poets and orators, as might naturally be expected, was diſtinguiſhed by an amiable ſimplicity; which, whatever rudeneſs may ſometimes attend it, is ſo fitted to expreſs the genuine movements of nature and paſſion, that the compoſitions poſſeſſed of it muſt ever appear valuable to the diſcerning part of mankind. The glaring figures of diſcourſe, the pointed antitheſis, the unnatural conceit, the jingle of words; ſuch falſe ornaments were not employed by early writers; not becauſe they were rejected, but becauſe they ſcarcely ever occurred to them. An eaſy, unforced ſtrain of ſentiment runs through their compoſitions; though at the ſame time we may obſerve that, amidſt the moſt elegant ſimplicity of thought and expreſſion, one is ſometimes ſurpriſed to meet with a poor conceit, which had preſented itſelf unſought for, and which the author had not acquired critical obſervation enough to condemn.[m] A bad taſte ſeizes with avidity theſe frivolous beauties, and even perhaps a good taſte, ere ſurfeited by them; they multiply every day more and more in the faſhionable compoſitions; nature and good ſenſe are neglected;

laboured ornaments ſtudied and admired; and a total degeneracy of ſtyle and language prepares the way for barbariſm and ignorance. Hence the Aſiatic manner was found to depart ſo much from the ſimple purity of Athens: hence that tinſel eloquence which is obſervable in many of the Roman writers, from which Cicero himſelf is not wholly exempted, and which ſo much prevails in Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Martial, and the Plinys.

On the revival of letters, when the judgment of the public is yet raw and unformed, this falſe gliſter catches the eye, and leaves no room, either in eloquence or poetry, for the durable beauties of ſolid ſenſe and lively paſſion. The reigning genius is then diametrically oppoſite to that which prevails on the firſt origin of arts. The Italian writers, it is evident, even the moſt celebrated, have not reached the proper ſimplicity of thought and compoſition; and in Petrarch, Taſſo, Guarini, frivolous witticiſms and forced conceits are but too predominant. The period during which letters were cultivated in Italy was ſo ſhort, as ſcarcely to allow leiſure for correcting this adulterated reliſh.

The more early French writers are liable to the ſame reproach. Voiture, Balzac, even Corneille, have too much affected thoſe ambitious ornaments, of which the Italians in general, and the leaſt pure of the ancients, ſupplied them with ſo many models. And it was not till late that obſervation and reflection gave riſe to a more natural turn of thought and compoſition among that elegant people.

A like character may be extended to the firſt Engliſh writers; ſuch as flouriſhed during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and even till long afterwards. Learning, on its revival in this iſland, was attired in the ſame unnatural garb which it wore at the time of its decay among the Greeks and Romans. And, what may be regarded as a misfortune, the Engliſh writers were poſſeſſed of great genius before they were endowed with any

ENGLISH
POETS

degree of taſte, and by that means gave a kind of ſanction to thoſe forced turns and ſentiments which they ſo much affected. Their diſtorted conceptions and expreſſions are attended with ſuch vigour of mind, that we admire the imagination which produced them as much as we blame the want of judgment which gave them admittance. To enter into an exact criticiſm of the writers of that age would exceed our preſent purpoſe. A ſhort character of the moſt eminent, delivered with the ſame freedom which hiſtory exerciſes over kings and ministers, may not be improper. The national prepoſſeſſions, which prevail, will perhaps render the former liberty not the leaſt perilous for an author.

If Shakeſpeare be conſidered as a Man, born in a rude age, and educated in the loweſt manner, without any inſtruction either from the world or from books, he may be regarded as a prodigy: if repreſented as a Poet, capable of furniſhing a proper entertainment to a refined or intelligent audience, we muſt abate much of this eulogy. In his compoſitions we regret that many irregularities, and even abſurdities, ſhould ſo frequently diſfigure the animated and paſſionate ſcenes intermixed with them; and, at the ſame time, we perhaps admire the more thoſe beauties on account of their being ſurrounded with ſuch deformities. A ſtriking peculiarity of ſentiment, adapted to a ſingle character, he frequently hits, as it were by inſpiration; but a reaſonable propriety of thought he cannot for any time uphold. Nervous and picturesque expreſſions, as well as deſcriptions, abound in him; but it is in vain we look either for purity or ſimplicity of diction. His total ignorance of all theatrical art and conduct, however material a defect, yet, as it affects the ſpectator rather than the reader, we can more eaſily excuſe, than that want of taſte which often prevails in his productions, and which gives way only by intervals to the irradiations of genius. A great and

fertile genius he certainly poſſeſſed, and one enriched equally with a tragic and comic vein; but he ought to be cited as a proof how dangerous it is to rely on theſe advantages alone for attaining an excellence in the finer arts." And there may even remain a ſuſpicion that we overrate, if poſſible, the greatneſs of his genius; in the ſame manner as bodies often appear more gigantic on account of their being diſproportioned and miſſhapen. He died in 1616, aged fifty-three years.

Johnſon poſſeſſed all the learning which was wanting to Shakeſpeare, and wanted all the genius of which the other was poſſeſſed. Both of them were equally deficient in taſte and elegance, in harmony and correctneſs. A ſervile copyiſt of the ancients, Johnſon tranſlated into bad Engliſh the beautiful paſſages of the Greek and Roman authors, without accommodating them to the manners of his age and country. His merit has been totally eclipſed by that of Shakeſpeare, whoſe rude genius prevailed over the rude art of his cotemporary. The Engliſh theatre has ever ſince taken a ſtrong tincture of Shakeſpeare's ſpirit and character; and thence it has proceeded that the nation has undergone, from all its neighbours, the reproach of barbariſm, from which its valuable productions in ſome other parts of learning would otherwiſe have exempted it. Johnſon had a penſion of a hundred marks from the king, which Charles afterwards augmented to a hundred pounds. He died in 1637, aged ſixty-three.

Fairfax has tranſlated Taſſo with an elegance and eaſe, and at the ſame time with an exactneſs, which for that age are ſurpriſing. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correſpondent line in the tranſlation. Harrington's tranſlation of Arioſto is not likewiſe without its merit. It is to be regretted that theſe poets ſhould have imitated the Italians in their ſtanza, which has a prolixity and uniformity in it that

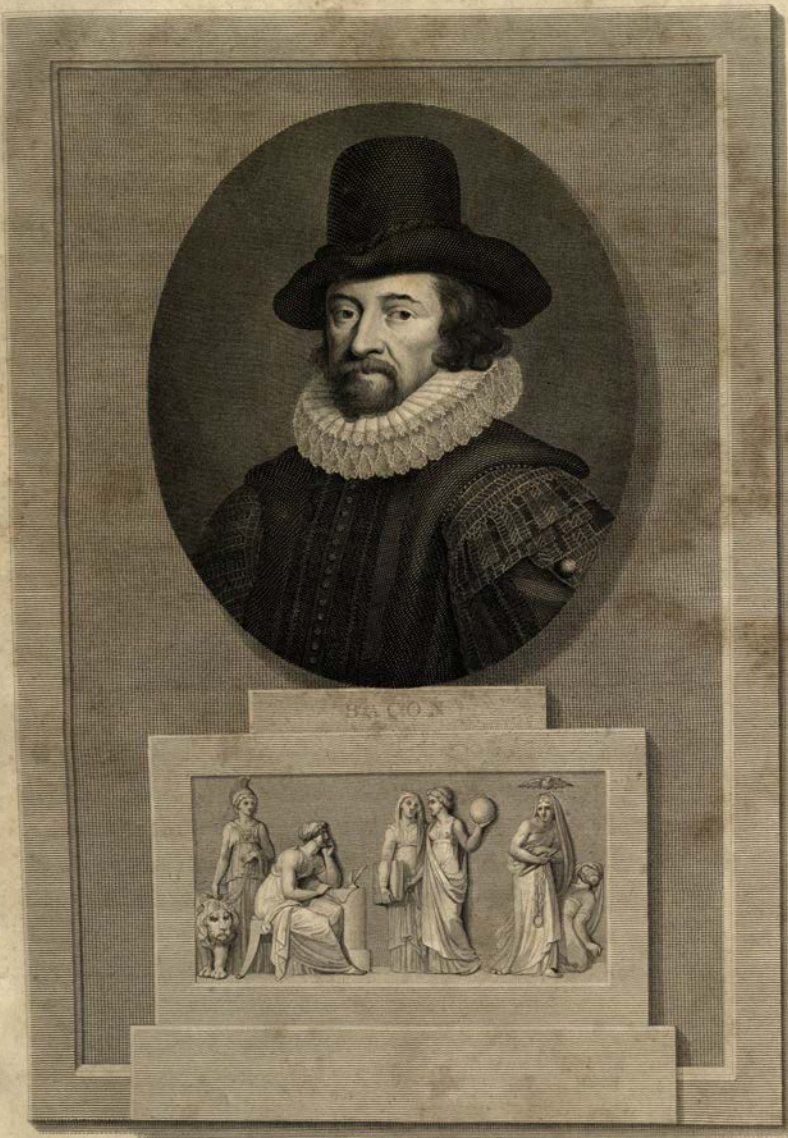
diſpleaſes in long performances: they had otherwiſe, as well as Spenſer, who went before them, contributed much to the poliſhing and refining of Engliſh verſification.

In Donne's ſatires, when carefully inſpected, there appear ſome flaſhes of wit and ingenuity; but theſe totally ſuffocated and buried by the hardeſt and moſt uncouth expreſſion that is anywhere to be met with.

If the poetry of the Engliſh was ſo rude and imperfect during that age, we may reaſonably expect that their proſe would be liable to ſtill greater objections. Though the latter appears the more eaſy, as it is the more natural method of compoſition, it has ever in practice been found the more rare and difficult; and there ſcarcely is an inſtance, in any language, that it has reached a degree of perfection, before the refinement of poetical numbers and expreſſion. Engliſh proſe, during the reign of James, was written with little regard to the rules of grammar, and with a total diſregard to the elegance and harmony of the period. Stuffed with Latin ſentences and quotations, it likewiſe imitated thoſe inverſions which, however forcible and graceful in the ancient languages, are entirely contrary to the idiom of the Engliſh. I ſhall indeed venture to affirm that, whatever uncouth phraſes and expreſſions occur in old books, they were chiefly owing to the unformed taſte of the author; and that the language ſpoken in the courts of Elizabeth and James was very little different from that which we meet with at preſent in good company. Of this opinion the little ſcraps of ſpeeches which are found in the parliamentary journals, and which carry an air ſo oppoſite to the laboured orations, ſeem to be a ſufficient proof; and there want not productions of that age which, being written by men who were not authors by profeſſion, retain a very natural manner, and may give us ſome idea of the language which prevailed among men of the world. I ſhall particularly mention

ſir John Davis's diſcovery, Throgmorton's, Eſſex's, and Nevil's letters. In a more early period, Cavendiſh's life of cardinal Wolſey, the pieces that remain of biſhop Gardiner, and Anne Boleyn's letter to the king, differ little or nothing from the language of our time.

The great glory of literature in this iſland, during the reign of James, was lord Bacon. Moſt of his performances were compoſed in Latin; though he poſſeſſed neither the elegance of that, nor of his native tongue. If we conſider the variety of talents diſplayed by this man; as a public ſpeaker, a man of buſineſs, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philoſopher; he is juſtly the object of great admiration. If we conſider him merely as an author and philoſopher, the light in which we view him at preſent, though very eſtimable, he was yet inferior to his cotemporary Galilæo, perhaps even to Kepler. Bacon pointed out at a diſtance the road to true philoſophy: Galilæo both pointed it out to others, and made himſelf conſiderable advances in it. The Engliſhman was ignorant of geometry; the Florentine revived that ſcience, excelled in it, and was the firſt that applied it, together with experiment, to natural philoſophy. The former rejected, with the moſt poſitive diſdain, the ſyſtem of Copernicus; the latter fortified it with new proofs, derived both from reaſon and the ſenſes. Bacon's ſtyle is ſtiff and rigid; his wit, though often brilliant, is alſo often unnatural and far-fetched; and he ſeems to be the original of thoſe pointed ſimilies and long-ſpun allegories which ſo much diſtinguiſh the Engliſh authors. Galilæo is a lively and agreeable, though ſomewhat a prolix, writer. But Italy, not united in any ſingle government, and perhaps ſatiated with that literary glory which it has poſſeſſed both in ancient and modern times, has too much neglected the renown which it has acquired by giving birth to ſo great a man. That national ſpirit which prevails among the


BACON

Engliſh, and which forms their great happineſs, is the cauſe why they beſtow on all their eminent writers, and on Bacon among the reſt, ſuch praiſes and acclamations as may often appear partial and exceſſive. He died in 1626, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age.

If the reader of Raleigh's hiſtory can have the patience to wade through the Jewiſh and rabbinical learning which compoſe the half of the volume, he will find, when he comes to the Greek and Roman ſtory, that his pains are not unrewarded. Raleigh is the beſt model of that ancient ſtyle which ſome writers would affect to revive at preſent. He was beheaded in 1618, aged ſixty-ſix years.

Camden's hiſtory of queen Elizabeth may be eſteemed good compoſition, both for ſtyle and matter. It is written with ſimplicity of expreſſion, very rare in that age, and with a regard to truth. It would not perhaps be too much to affirm that it is among the beſt hiſtorical productions which have yet been compoſed by any Engliſhman. It is well known that the Engliſh have not much excelled in that kind of literature. He died in 1623, aged ſeventy-three years.

We ſhall mention the king himſelf at the end of theſe Engliſh writers; becauſe that is his place, when conſidered as an author. It may ſafely be affirmed that the mediocrity of James's talents in literature, joined to the great change in national taſte, is one cauſe of that contempt under which his memory labours, and which is often carried by party writers to a great extreme. It is remarkable how different from ours were the ſentiments of the ancients with regard to learning. Of the firſt twenty Roman emperors, counting from Cæſar to Severus, above the half were authors; and, though few of them ſeem to have been eminent in that profeſſion, it is always remarked, to their praiſe, that by their example they encouraged literature. Not to men-

tion Germanicus, and his daughter Agrippina, perſons ſo nearly allied to the throne, the greater part of the claſſic writers, whoſe works remain, were men of the higheſt quality. As every human advantage is attended with inconveniences, the change of men's ideas in this particular may probably be aſcribed to the invention of printing, which has rendered books ſo common, that even men of ſlender fortunes can have acceſs to them.

That James was but a middling writer may be allowed; that he was a contemptible one can by no means be admitted. Whoever will read his Baſilicon Doron, particularly the two laſt books, the true law of free monarchies, his anſwer to cardinal Perron, and almoſt all his ſpeeches and meſſages to parliament, will confeſs him to have poſſeſſed no mean genius. If he wrote concerning witches and apparitions; who in that age did not admit the reality of theſe fictitious beings? If he has compoſed a commentary on the Revelation, and proved the pope to be antichriſt, may not a ſimilar reproach be extended to the famous Napier, and even to Newton, at a time when learning was much more advanced than during the reign of James? From the groſſneſs of its ſuperſtitions we may infer the ignorance of an age; but never ſhould pronounce concerning the folly of an individual, from his admitting popular errors, conſecrated by the appearance of religion.

Such a ſuperiority do the purſuits of literature poſſeſs above every other occupation, that even he who attains but a mediocrity in them merits the preeminence above thoſe that excel the moſt in the common and vulgar profeſſions. The ſpeaker of the houſe of commons is uſually an eminent lawyer; yet the harangue of his majeſty will always be found much ſuperior to that of the ſpeaker, in every parliament during this reign.

Every ſcience, as well as polite literature, muſt be conſidered as being yet in its infancy. Scholaſtic learning and polemical

divinity retarded the growth of all true knowledge. Sir Henry Saville, in the preamble of that deed by which he annexed a ſalary to the mathematical and aſtronomical profeſſors in Oxford, ſays that geometry was almoſt totally abandoned and unknown in England.[o] The beſt learning of that age was the ſtudy of the ancients. Caſaubon, eminent for this ſpecies of knowledge, was invited over from France by James, and encouraged by a penſion of three hundred pounds a year, as well as by church preferments.[p] The famous Antonio di Dominis, archbiſhop of Spalatro, no deſpicable philoſopher, came likewiſe into England, and afforded great triumph to the nation, by their gaining ſo conſiderable a proſelyte from the papiſts. But the mortification followed ſoon after; the archbiſhop, though advanced to ſome eccleſiaſtical preferments,[q] received not encouragement ſufficient to ſatisfy his ambition; he made his eſcape into Italy, where he died in confinement.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

00035270

Digitized with financial assistance from
Observer Research Foundation
on 17 May, 2019